

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

TEUN GOUDRIAAN and SANJUKTA GUPTA

HINDU TANTRIC AND ŚĀKTA LITERATURE

OTTO HARRASSOWITZ · WIESBADEN

A HISTORY OF INDIAN LITERATURE

EDITED BY JAN GONDA

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PREFACE

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PART I

TEUN GOUDRIAAN

HINDU TANTRIC LITERATURE IN SANSKRIT

CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

It is self-evident at first sight that the literature of Hindu Tantrism comprises those Hindu texts which proclaim Tantric doctrines and ritual. But there is a problem as to the extent of "Tantrism". What is most often called by this term is a systematic quest for salvation or for spiritual excellence by realizing and fostering the bipolar, bisexual divinity within one's own body. This result is methodically striven after by specific means (kinds of *sādhana*): the recitation of mantras or *bijas*¹; the construction of geometrical cosmic symbols (*maṇḍala*); the making of appropriate gestures (*mudrā*); the assignment or "laying down" (*nyāsa*) of powerful sounds or syllables on the body; the meditation on the deity's concrete manifestation (*dhyāna*); the application of these and other elements in special ritual procedures, to wit Tantric worship (*pūjā*), initiation (*dikṣā*) etc.²; besides, the performance of Kuṇḍalinīyoga by means of which the microcosmic form of the Śakti (female divine power) present in the body in the form of a fiery tube or serpent is conducted upwards along the yogic nerves towards Śiva's mystic residence at some distance above the head³. All these procedures, which can only summarily be alluded to here, might be characterized as "Tantric elements", and they occur more or less frequently in several sects, schools or religions which would not always without more admit to be "Tantric", such as the Pāñcarātra, Śaiva Siddhānta, Buddhism and Jainism. Their literatures have been or will be treated in other volumes of the "History of Indian Literature".

The present part restricts itself to those Śaiva and Śākta works which are commonly called Tantras or which without any doubt belong to what is agreed on as the "Tantric tradition". This is not the place to go into details of doctrine or ritual practice; the essentials are assumed to be more or less familiar to the

¹ J. GONDA, The Indian Mantra, in: Oriens, 16, 1963, p. 244–297; reprinted in: J. GONDA, Selected Studies, IV, Leiden 1975, p. 248f.; PADOUX, Recherches, p. 293f.; HOENS, in: GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 91f.; ZVELEBIL, Kumāratantra, p. 178f.; on *mantra* and the other "Tantric elements" mentioned here, see also GONDA, MRL, p. 67–75, with literature.

² Pūjā: GUPTA, in: GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 121f.; Dikṣā, see HOENS, in: GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 71f. and (more general) GONDA, Change and Continuity, p. 315–462.

³ A. AVALON, The Serpent Power, Madras 1950; S. B. DASGUPTA, Obscure Cults, p. XXXIV–XL; ELIADE, Yoga, p. 205f.; and many popularizing books.

reader⁴. But it should be kept in mind that the distinction Śaiva: Śākta cannot always be clearly drawn. Śāktism, the belief in and worship of the Supreme Principle as a female force or Śakti (accompanied by a male divine partner, usually Śiva or one of his manifestations) which creates, regulates and destroys the cosmos⁵, as it were grew into maturity under the cover of Śaivism where Śiva holds a similar position. This holds good at least as far as the literary development of Śākta ideology is concerned. Therefore, if the following pages will be mainly devoted to Śākta literature, it is unavoidable that some attention is also paid to tantrically oriented works which focus on the worship of Śiva or other male gods. There is no clear line of demarcation; both denominations can be distinguished but not separated. Besides, many Tantras and secondary Tantric digests deal with subjects which allow of an eclectic standpoint, for instance the “science of mantras” or magic. These and other factors – and not in the last place the fact that Tantrism is still a living and not unimportant aspect of present-day Hinduism—lend to Tantric literature a significance and variety which is at first sight scarcely discernible⁶.

The study of Tantric literature has often been neglected in the past. Winternitz’ standard work devotes less than two pages to the Tantras at the end of the chapter on Purāṇic literature⁷. The catalogues are still the main source of information on most of the Tantric books in Sanskrit; many works have been edited, but the number of critical editions is very small. The present book is the first non-cataloguing survey claiming a certain degree of generality in scope⁸. Systematic further investigation into the field is important and urgent; important because of the intrinsic value of this province of Indian literature as the literary heritage of an extremely influential stream in Indian religious history, even if the contents may be incomprehensible or displeasing to many;

⁴ Cf. GUPTA a.o., HT; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras; GONDA, Rel. Indiens, II, p. 26–52; works by ARTHUR AVALON alias SIR JOHN WOODROFFE; J. EVOLA, *Le yoga tantrique*, Paris 1971 (who bases himself mainly on AVALON).

⁵ For delineations of Śāktism, cf. GOUDRIAAN, in: GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 6f. and the literature referred to there. For presentations of the bewildering variety of Śakti’s (or Devi’s) manifestations, we refer to the same work, p. 56 and 64f. (too short) and to PUSHPENDRA KUMAR SHARMA, Śakti Cult in Ancient India, esp. on p. 228f. Cf. also D. C. SRICAR, *Tantrasāradhṛta Dhyānamālā*, in: *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, VI, 1972–73, p. 186–278, which contains descriptions of deities taken from the Tantrasāra by KṚṢṆĀNANDA and provided with a translation.

⁶ As “literature” we regard anything which an author deemed worth to be committed to writing, and which following generations took the trouble to copy. No standards of aesthetics or literary competence have been applied.

⁷ WINTERNITZ, GIL, I, p. 481f. The references given there are completely outdated by now.

⁸ A short survey, of use especially for the Nibandhas, is CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 59f. BHARATI, *Tantric Tradition*, is not a reliable guide, BAGCHI, *Studies*, is restricted in scope. Useful, but written in Sanskrit, is DWIVEDA, *Introd.* to the NSA. On the early Kashmir tradition, see PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta*, p. 132f.; 542f.; PA-DOUX, *Recherches*, p. 41f.; RASTOGI, *Krama Tantricism*.

and urgent, because a great number of manuscripts, neglected by the present generation, is in danger of getting lost⁹. It is therefore a happy circumstance that in the recent period projects have been set up to preserve these manuscripts or their contents by purchase or microfilming.

Some compilers of library catalogues have done pioneer work in describing a great number of Tantric manuscripts. Without detracting from the merits of others, mention should in any case be made of Rājendralāla Mitra, of Hara Prasad Śāstrī (Nepal Cat.) and of Chintaharan Chakravarti (RASB Cat.)¹⁰. These catalogues have been heavily relied on, and profusely been referred to, in this book. Besides these, a great number of texts had already been edited in India before the end of the nineteenth century and the stream of editions went on, although with fluctuating intensity. But almost all of these were uncritical and destined for a restricted public of devotees or admirers. Much better known became the editions in the Tantrik Texts Series set up by Sir John Woodroffe and in most cases prepared by pandits who collaborated with him. Although these editions are far from definitive, Woodroffe was the first European to set himself to make the Tantras better known to (and to defend them against) cultured opinion in the modern world¹¹. More recently, attempts at critical editions of adequate standard have at last been made¹², but this work has as yet scarcely begun. The number of translations into Western languages is negligible. In short, the literature of Hindu Tantrism, expressive of ideas and practices often scorned by the orthodoxies of former and present generations, has always been a stepchild of Indology. In this state of affairs, it will be understandable that this book cannot be a final appreciation based upon results reached by generations of investigators. On the contrary, it does not pretend to be more than a preliminary assessment of the material, a kind of repertory which, though imperfect and certainly not complete, can at least give an idea of the general contents, the chief characteristics, the diffuseness and the mere size of this literature, and show the interested student the way to the catalogues, the manuscripts and, if they exist, the editions.¹³ These sources will therefore be regularly referred to in the notes.

⁹ A similar note of warning was already sounded by AVALON, *Introd. to the Tantrābhidhāna*, p. IVf.

¹⁰ R. MITRA's "Notices on Sanskrit Manuscripts" was inaccessible to the present author, but is profusely paraphrased in KAVIRAJ, *TSāh.*—For the titles of the catalogues consulted, see the Bibliography.

¹¹ On WOODROFFE, see DERRETT, *Mahā-Nirvāṇa*, p. 233f. (stern judgment). According to EVOLA, *Yoga tantrique*, p. 22, Woodroffe used the pseudonym Avalon when he had been assisted by Hindus in the preparation of a book.

¹² E.g., DWIVEDA's ed. of the NSA; CARLSTEDT's studies on the KT.

¹³ A recent repertory in Hindī, the *Tāntrika Sāhitya* prepared under the supervision of GOPINATH KAVIRAJ, has been made use of intensively. It is not an original work; it consists of an alphabetical list of 4422 Tantric texts provided with references to and extracts from relevant library catalogues (not all collections are covered). The NCC (not utilized by the TSāh) also served as a most welcome source of material. For tracing old editions, the IOL-SB proved invaluable.

In the absence of anything like a clear chronology¹⁴—especially many “Original Tantras” offer little scope for chronological argumentation—the material has been ordered in the first place according to literary genre or method of presentation. The chief distinction adopted is that between “Original Tantras” and “secondary works”, i.e. in most cases *nibandhas* or digests¹⁵. The “Original Tantras” are anonymous and written in dialogue form; their Sanskrit is often inferior, their style mediocre, sometimes even awkward; their method of presentation is repetitive, associative and non-systematical. The digests are of known authorship; their language and style are much better; their set-up is more systematical; they abound in references to and quotations from older authorities. The authors were in overwhelming majority Brahmins¹⁶, but other social groups are also represented, among them ruling aristocrats¹⁷. The terminology adopted here should not be taken to imply that the “Original Tantras” are always older or of more fundamental importance than the “secondary” *Nibandhas*; the reverse is often the case. However, the Original Tantras are given most of the attention in this book, although an attempt has been made not to neglect some other genres of Tantric literature. In some cases, even unimportant or quite modern products have been mentioned in order to present a true picture of the variety of material and the continuing productivity in the field. A secondary principle of division has been that of adherence to a particular deity worshipped as supreme. But here also, it is difficult to be consistent. Many texts are eclectic and treat of several deities together. Tantras of magic have been treated separately. Within each group, the chronological principle has of course been followed as far as possible.

Whereas the chronology and early history of the Tantras are beset with problems and therefore still insufficiently known, the texts themselves are in complete agreement about their ultimate origin. The verbal tradition—inseparable from the doctrines communicated in it—was inaugurated by Śiva himself, the Supreme Lord and Divine Teacher, although he may act in one of his divine manifestations (Bhairava, Aghora etc.).¹⁸ The first recipient of the tradition is usually Śiva’s spouse, Devī, or one of her manifestations; in a few—

¹⁴ A courageous, but somewhat abortive, attempt at chronology was made by FARQUHAR, RLI.

¹⁵ The same division is applied in the RASB Cat., with a third rubric (*stotras* and *kavacas*) added. For *Stotras*, see GONDA, MRL, p. 232f. For a similar division within the Trika school: PADOUX, Recherches, p. 53.—The distinction of Original Tantras into Mūlatantra or Nirdeśa and Laghutantra or Uddeśa is scarcely valid for Tantric literature as a whole (cf. H. NAKAMURA, Religions and Philosophies of India, Tōkyō 1973, II, p. V–9, referring to M.J. SHENDGE).

¹⁶ Cf. CHAKRAVARTI, RASB Cat., p. XXXII.

¹⁷ See below, p. 146f.

¹⁸ See e.g. the SvT, 8, 27; MVT 1, 7; KKV 51f.; PKS 1,1 and RĀMEŚVARA’s commentary, Introd.; cf. also CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 25, who refers to BHOJA’s Tattvapraṇkāśa.

usually early—texts, Skanda/Kumāra acts as such, while occasionally the roles of Śiva and Devī are reversed¹⁹. In a more speculative context, however, the sacred word is described as a function of the evolution of speech as a pure and primeval stage of cosmic evolution. In such cases, the boundary between legendary history, myth and metaphysics is almost imperceptibly crossed. For Abhinavagupta, the Śiva-Devī dialogue is a reflexion of the Supreme on Itself, expressed in the framework of a teacher-pupil relation²⁰. This discursive relation between *guru* and *śiṣya* is placed within the third (or Madhyamā) of the four evolutionary stages of speech²¹.

Opinions come to differ at the point where the second stage of transmission, the descent from the divine to the human plane, is to be described. In mythological language, this stage sets in when Devī, though asked for secrecy, cannot keep her vow. The younger Tantras as a rule do not bother much about it. Śiva just enlightens Devī, and that is enough. In the older texts, divine emanations and Ṛṣis are often important intermediaries in the process. In an old source like the NTS, the dialogue Śiva-Devī is still embedded in the Purāṇic-Āgamic situation of a colloquy between two Vedic sages; in the MVT, the secondary transmitter is Kumāra who enlightens Nārada and others²². The description of a large chain of intermediary stages without doubt contributed to a feeling of reverence for an ancient and superhuman tradition and it suited a new movement which could not supply a *paramparā* of ancient and respected gurus. Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka (ch. 36) claims fourteen intermediaries between Bhairava and the Yogins; besides, due to deteriorating circumstances in the Kaliyuga, the tradition went lost until Śiva as Śrikanṭha (a pivotal figure in this context) caused it to reappear by word of mouth from Durvāsa²³. The prehistory of the Kula tradition, however, is differently described by the same Tantrāloka in ch. 29: in the four world-periods there were four mythical expounders called Khagendra “Lord of Birds”, Kūrma “Tortoise”, Meṣa “Ram” and Macchanda (= Matsyendra “Lord of Fishes”?). All of these had wives and sons/pupils to whom they transmitted the doctrine. The latter tradition is simpler, less intellectual and certainly closer to popular legend.

A few instances from other texts: in the SvT (8,27 f.), Śiva’s invisible form

¹⁹ Thus in the lost Kramasadbhāva; the KulCT; the RY-UT. Such texts are called Nigamas (cf. RASTOGI, Krama Tantricism, p. 229 f.); the term Nigama is, however, often used by Tantric authors as a synonym for Veda, cf. AWASTHI, Rahasya, p. 7 f.; SASTRY, Sidelights, p. 4 f.; DWIVEDA, ATKD, p. 28.—On the dialogue situation as a literary motif, see below, p. 26.

²⁰ ABHINAVAGUPTA, Comm. on Parātrīpśikā 1, ed. M. R. SHĀSTRĪ, Srinagar 1918 (KSTS, vol. 18), p. 6 f., esp. on p. 12 where he quotes SvT 8, 31; the passage is quoted by RĀMEŚVARA on PKS 1, 2 (ed. GOS, p. 20).

²¹ Discussion by KAVIRAJ, Śāktadr̥ṣṭi, p. 45 f. The Madhyamā stage is described by PADOUX, Recherches, p. 168 f.

²² GONDA, MRL, p. 203.

²³ Cf. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 136, who refers to Bhagavadgītā 4, 1 for the idea.

is the first emitter; over Sadāśiva, the tradition reaches Īśvara, who proclaims it to the Vidyēśvaras and to Śrīkaṇṭha from whom it is handed down to Bhairava who in his turn intimated it to Devī; she is the cause of its further spread among gods, demons, sages and human beings. The BY (chapter XXXIX) describes how the revelation originated from the first creative principle, the Bindu, because of the activity of the Śakti, and how through various intermediaries it came to Śrīkaṇṭha and from him to Īśvara who taught it to Devī in the form of 125.000 *anuṣṭubh* stanzas. After that, the doctrine was received on earth by “a Brahman from Kurukṣetra” and an inhabitant of Odra (presumably Uḍḍiyāna in this context) called Devadatta²⁴. The Devīyāmala pretends to transmit an original revelation by ten Rudras as first gurus²⁵:

“The ten mighty Rudras are known to have been the best of gurus; they wore plaited hair and crown and were always intent on worship of the *līṅga*; they constantly enjoyed wine and meat, and consistently performed the handling of mantras; they had intercourse with their female partners and diligently concentrated on the Scriptures”.

The MBT (colophon) holds that the Primeval Manifestation was the first cause of the tradition, from which it came down along the Meru towards two *pīṭhas* “Seats of Revelation”: the Ādya- and Vidyāpīṭha, and from there split itself into several schools; the MBT itself represents the Kādibheda. The Śrīvidyā school places Kāma as Vidyēśvara (a form of Śiva) at the head; he communicated the doctrine to twelve subordinate Vidyēśvaras, i. a. Manu, Indra, Manmatha (Kāmarāja, the “real” god Kāma), Lopāmudrā and Durvāsa, who founded separate lines of tradition. Only the lines of Kāmarāja and (for some time at least) of Lopāmudrā survived into the historical period²⁶.

The Vedic sages, as has been said, continue to play an important role, but only as transmitters, not as revealers²⁷. It should be noted that each mantra possesses its *ṛṣi* who is often mentioned together with its deity, *śakti* etc. and assigned to parts of the speaker’s body (*ṛṣyāḍinyāsa*)²⁸. In Balinese Śaiva Tantric speculation, a group of five *ṛṣis* acts as a kind of culture heroes²⁹.

²⁴ BAGCHI, Studies, p. 102f.; see also p. 111 and 106 for the traditions of the JY and the PM.

²⁵ Quoted by JAYARATHA on TĀ 28, 391–393.

²⁶ KAVIRAJ, ed. YH, 1963, p. IVf.—Elaboration of the doctrine in KAN 15, 141f. Differently, and akin to the doctrine of the SvT: BHĀSKARARĀYA, Setubandha 7, 47f. (cf. CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 25, n. 26).

²⁷ GOUDRIAAN, in GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 14. There is a list of eight groups of *ṛṣis* in the JY, ch. 41 (BAGCHI, Studies, p. 112). Pippalāda figures in magical *kalpas* such as the Pratyāṅgirasakalpa; Paraśurāma in the Tripurārahasya and the PKS; Durvāsa is claimed by both the Trika and the Śrīvidyā schools.

²⁸ For a Tantric definition of an “*ṛṣi*”, see S.CH. SIDDHĀNTABHŪṢAN, comm. on Kālitānta 1, 8. A similar role is played by *ṛṣis* in the Pāñcarātra, cf. B. BHATTACHARYA, Foreword to the ed. of Jayākhyasamhitā by E. KRISHNAMACHARYA, p. 6 (JayS. 1, 42; 1, 49; 1, 74).

²⁹ Cf. C. HOYKAAS, Cosmogony and Creation in Balinese Tradition, The Hague 1974, p. 93–128, esp. on p. 115.

To summarize: it will be clear that the Tantras claim superhuman authority because they present themselves as an inseparable part of divine emanation. Anyway, it was of vital importance for early Tantric groups to create their own *paramparā*. Regrettably enough, it is impossible by now to discern how and how soon the transition from evident human authorship to divine authority was made. Of course the exalted position of the guru must have been an important factor in the acceleration and intensification of the process.

What is, after all, a Tantra? The term itself is vague; it is applied in several other provinces of Indian literature to a technical "exposé" or "handbook" which in a more or less extensive way deals with a certain subject. Sometimes it means little more than "tradition", "specialism", for instance in the word Bhūtatantra "the lore of exorcism of spirits" or Māṛtantra "the set of rules for the worship of Mother goddesses" (NT 16,76). A similar meaning can be assumed when Tantra- serves as the first member of compound titles: Tantrasadbhāva "The Real Essence of Tantra". One could also speak of "the Tantra of Śiva" or of Devī³⁰. Only in the course of tradition seems the term to have undergone a specialization towards denoting individual religious texts of Śaiva and especially Śākta denomination. It would on the other hand be a serious error to hold that the whole of Śākta Tantric literature would be called Tantra. The use of titles is much too varied for that, although there has certainly been a tendency at work to increase the incidence of "Tantras" by simply putting the word behind other titles. In this way, Kulārṇava became Kulārṇavatāntra; Tantrarāja became Tantrarājatantra; Viṇāśikha was henceforth known as Viṇāśikhatantra; and so on. Even digests and commentaries might be subjected to the process: Umānanda's Nityotsava is called Nityotsavatāntra in some Mss., while Kṣemarāja's commentary Uddyota "Elucidation" on the NT obtained the title Uddyotatantra in one Ms. The historical position of the term Tantra in the Tantric tradition is therefore not entirely clear and we may assume that it only gradually came to be closely affiliated with Śākta and Śakti-oriented Śaiva literature³¹. Besides, "Tantra" is often scarcely distinguished from "Āgama". The Bhāgavatapurāṇa (4, 24, 62) alludes to people who are experienced in Veda as well as Tantra and the Sanskrit commentary by Śrīdhara explains *tantra* by *āgama*. In some older Tantric sources, the earlier literature of the school is referred to as "Āgama"³². Some Śaiva Āgamas must have been transmitted for some time in the North of India as Tantras, while

³⁰ BY (quoted by JAYARATHA on TĀ 29,11-13): *ye punaḥ Śāṅkare tantre Devī-tantre ca dīkṣitāḥ*.

³¹ When the MVT (1,9) calls itself a Tantra (*Mālinīvijaye tantre*), this refers to the original revelation of 35 million *śloka*s. The preserved summary is called Mālinīvijayottaram.

³² The Trika referred to the whole body of authoritative anonymous Śaiva texts as "Āgamaśāstra". Cf. PADOUX, *Recherches*, p. 42; 57.

even Pāñcarātra Samhitās could be denoted by the latter term³³. On the other hand, a few Śaiva Tantras are styled Samhitā (thus the Nihśvāsātattvasamhitā). According to the Devīyāmala as paraphrased by Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka (28, 387) and quoted by Jayaratha on this place, a Samhitā is characterized by a structure made up of four quarters (*pāda*). This fourfold division has nothing to do with the theoretical division into Jñāna, Kriyā, Yoga and Caryā³⁴ which plays a part in Śaiva Āgamic literature but scarcely at all in the texts discussed in this book. As far as nomenclature is concerned, therefore, it is impossible to be dogmatic.

This is not to deny that there are characteristic differences between the typical Śaiva Āgama or Vaiṣṇava Samhitā text on the one hand, and the typical Tantra on the other. In the Āgamas, the emphasis is on those subjects which in the tradition fall under the heading of *kriyā* (and *caryā*): construction of temples, installation of images, temple worship, ceremonial bathing, public festivals etc., although there may also be expositions of cosmogony, mantra creation and other theoretical matter. The Tantras most often tend to prefer more esoteric subjects: speculations on the (usually bipolar) nature of the Absolute, cosmogony, the creative nature of sound and word, micro-macrocosmic equivalence, the powers of speech, communication and handling of mantras (very important and frequent), symbolic interpretations of words and names³⁵, construction of and initiation into *maṇḍalas* and worship of deities therein (this ritual aspect of Tantric lore is also very important); many pages are also devoted to prediction, the obtaining of magical proficiency, varieties of Kuṇḍalinīyoga, etc. The Tantric world view is usually decidedly monistic (the Śaiva Āgamas are held to be dualistic or to take an intermediate standpoint). The focus of concentration in the Tantras is the individual quest for release or bodily and spiritual perfection. Their relation to the Āgama literature in some cases recalls that which exists between the Vedic ritual Sūtras and the Upaniṣads, although on the whole the Tantras remain strongly ritualistic in outlook. The remark made in the NTS (fol. 16a) that the Vedadharmā came forth from Śiva's "upper mouth" and the *adhyātmika* "individualistic", "esoteric" teaching from his "right" or "southern" mouth even suggests a direct continuation of the Upaniṣadic position that ritualistic conventions can be surpassed (not: got rid of) by adepts of supernatural matters³⁶. Notwithstanding the differences, we are

³³ GONDA, MRL, p. 2; p. 41; M.K. SHĀSTRĪ, Introd. to ed. of NT, KSTS XLVI, Bombay 1926, p. 1. The "Southern" Ajitāgama, Kriyāpāda 1, 45 (while dealing with the transmission of the eighteen Rudra Āgamas) says: *tantrāṇy eṣāṃ dadau tāṃś ca śṛṇu vakṣye . . . Vijayam* etc. Cf. also BRUNNER, Littérature āgamique, p. 108.

³⁴ GONDA, MRL, p. 3.

³⁵ Thus, the legendary introduction in the KMT which describes the Himavant and the story of Śiva and Pārvatī is partly symbolically explained in the Ṣaṭsāhasra-samhitā of the same school; for instance, the Himavant is equated to the mind (*Himavantam mano yac ca*, 1, 14); the symbolic interpretation is called *adhyātmārtha*.

³⁶ GNOLI, Luce, p. 12f. also distinguishes between a ritualistic/disciplinary and a mystical/esoteric outlook.

bound to assume that the Āgamas and Saṃhitās on the one side and the early Tantras on the other have grown on common ground; that both were originally known in the North of India (although the Āgamic and Pāñcarātra literatures were preserved almost only in the South)³⁷; that both were perhaps not meant as antagonistic but as complementary to each other; that both Āgamas and early Śaiva Tantras originated in the circles of those who were well versed in speculation on Śiva's mystic nature and in the symbolic expression thereof (and the quest for identification with it) in ritual and yogic practice: in short, those with insight into the Śivatattva³⁸.

In other words, the early development of the kind of literature described in this volume was probably due to the need among Śaiva religious thinkers for formulation and communication of esoteric truths in the guise of cosmic and verbal symbolism. It was not based upon a popular movement, but was the outgrowth of the specialistic position of an intellectual élite of religious functionaries from the upper classes, as a rule of Brahmans. The latter remark does, however, not hold good for the authors of some early magical Tantras, nor for many Kula adepts who may have been (pupils or descendants of) converted Buddhists. The texts were often deliberately vague and mystifying; explanatory comment was in many cases left to oral instruction. Moreover, these texts provided guidance to initiation into meditative and yogic methods for experiencing the esoteric truths³⁹. The tendency to esoterism led to a large variety in the concrete development of originally similar patterns of symbolic thought. All this, we repeat, continued to be anchored in a firm base of ritualism.

At a very early stage, the preoccupation with the manifold power-manifestations of the Absolute or the Divine led to an increasing emphasis on feminine and female symbol-bearers often called Śaktis; and this proved to be an ideal theoretical background for the literary emancipation of already existing more or less popular traditions of worship of Mother Goddesses. With the intrusion of Śakti-oriented speculations also another kind of ritual, probably existing since long in unsophisticated form, came to be described in the texts: ritual eroticism, virgin worship, forms of animal sacrifice and so on. The Śakti can be worshipped in a great number of manifestations, the most important of which are the essentially benign Śrī or Tripurasundarī and the essentially terrible and ferocious Kālī. The traditions of their worship are sometimes designated as Śrīkula and Kālikula. These various tendencies resulted in a diversity of topics and a differentiation of outlook unprecedented and unparalleled in the Āgama and Saṃhitā literature. It is, therefore, not advisable to make generalizing statements about what is said or held by "the Tantras"

³⁷ For argumentation, see R. GNOLI, *Gli āgama scivaiti nell'India settentrionale*, in: *Indologica Taurinensia*, I, Torino 1973, p. 61–69, on p. 61.

³⁸ For inscriptional evidence: NANDI, *Institutions*, p. 92.

³⁹ At the beginning of the MVT (1,5) the question is about *yoga*, and the text is said (1,10) to contain Śiva's exposition of that subject.

or the contents found in “a Tantra”. There are marked differences between early and late, Śaiva and Śākta, Śrīkula and Kālikula, texts of yogic and those of magic orientation, original Tantras and secondary Nibandhas. Very often, however, if the term “Tantra” is used, the reference is to an ordinary type of Śākta text in the Kaula tradition; the tone for this species was probably mainly set by the Kulārṇava and, for the Śrīkula, by the Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇava.

There are many theoretical statements about the subjects that ought to be contained in a Tantra. None of them are satisfactory. A famous stanza ascribed to the Vārāhī (sometimes to the non-existent Vārāha) Tantra enumerates seven of these: creation, dissolution of the world, worship of the gods, mastery of divine beings, recitation and worship of mantras, execution of the six acts of magic, and the fourfold practice of meditation. They are said to be characteristic of “Āgama”⁴⁰. In another tradition⁴¹, five types of Tantric lore are distinguished: Siddhāntajñāna (leading to salvation), Gāruḍajñāna (removes poison or poison magic), Kāmajñāna (enables the adept to enforce his will), Bhūtantra (exorcism of demons) and Bhairavatantra (destruction of enemies). This system lays too much stress on the magical side of Tantric literature. A variant is the fivefold series of Siddhānta, Gāruḍa, Ghora, Vāma and Bhūtantra which together constitute the Five Currents⁴². The best method of obtaining an impression of the variety of topics dealt with in Tantric literature is perhaps to look up the Sanskrit summary of contents (*viśayānukramanikā*) in an edition of the Prāṇatoṣiṇī or another extensive digest. A really reliable computation should, however, be based upon the contents of a great number of texts both anonymous and non-anonymous. Among the subjects described most frequently and with the greatest detail are in any case: 1. the daily and special worship of gods (usually conducted in private houses, but occasionally Śākta temple worship may also be described); 2. “mantric” subjects (mysticism of the alphabet; “creation” of mantras or *mantroddhāra*; preliminary worship and recitation of mantras or *puraścaraṇa*; etc.); 3. kinds of initiation; 4. yoga, usually Kuṇḍalinīyoga, and concomitant symbolism of the body; 5. fearsome and erotic practices for the initiated; 6. description of results (*phala*) of the rites, of supernatural powers and the practice of what we would call magic; 7. rules of conduct (especially *kulācāra*) and related topics; 8. praise of deities and relation of their exploits; 9. many Tantras, especially the older ones, are also preoccupied with the legendary history of their school or of Tantric literature in general.

⁴⁰ JHAVERY, Mantraśāstra, p. 51; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 2; M.D. AIYANGAR, Preface to ed. of TSS, p. 1 note; see also WINTERNITZ, GIL, I, p. 481, for a related list of five subjects.

⁴¹ KAVIRAJ, Śāktadr̥ṣṭi, p. 55.

⁴² DWIVEDA, ATKD, p. 24; the same, Introd. to ed. of SST, vol. IV, p. 21.—M.K. SHASTRI, Introd. to ed. of MVT, p. VIII, distinguishes nine subjects. BHARATI (Tantric Tradition, p. 282) produces a list made up from 25 Hindu and 10 Buddhist Tantras (he does not say which) with round percentages added.

From the tradition instances can be brought forward of a division of Tantric literature according to *genre*. A too simple system is that which distinguishes between Āgama, Tantra, Yāmala and Dāmara⁴³; also the Śamvaras have been mentioned as a separate group. The Chinnamastākhaṇḍa of the SST, however, mechanically categorizes the textual material by means of the last elements of the titles: *tantra*, *sūtra*, *saṃhitā*, *upaniṣad*, but also *cintāmaṇi* “wishing-jewel”, *cūḍāmaṇi* “crest-jewel” etc. It also makes much of a division between Tantras and Upatantras (parallel to that between Āgamas and Upāgamas) which is not actually found. The same system of taking the last elements of titles as indicators of genre is followed by the authors of some Nibandhas when they refer to their sources. Thus Navamīsimha mentions by name 49 Tantras, 17 Saṃhitās, eight Yāmalas, four Cūḍāmaṇis, three Pāñcarātras etc.⁴⁴ These are extremes, but an overall division according to the structure of the text is certainly practicable and has partly been followed in the present survey (see above, p. 7 f.).

Besides the basic division Saṃhitā—Āgama—Tantra, we can distinguish Sūtras; Upaniṣads; Purāṇas; commentaries; philosophical treatises; ritual or doctrinal monographs (*prakaraṇa*); systematic guides to the ritual (*paddhati*); hagiographical tracts and collections of legends; Stotras, Kavacas and other kinds of poetry; and indices or lists of words (*nighaṇṭu*, *koṣa*)⁴⁵. It might be added that this enormous bulk of Tantric literature is not our only source of knowledge of Hindu Tantrism. We should also reckon with data provided by non-Tantric literary sources such as Kāvya texts, historical works (esp. the Rājatarāṅgiṇī by Kalhaṇa), or hagiographical literature such as the Śaṅkara-digvijaya by Vidyāraṇya⁴⁶. Most important are also the iconographical and pictorial data⁴⁷. They are often indispensable for a correct understanding of

⁴³ Cf. H. BHATTACHARYYA in HCIP, IV, p. 316; U.K. DAS, Bhāratiya Śaktisādhana, Vol. II, Śāntiniketan B.E. 1373 (A.D. 1966), p. 1010. According to L. RANADE, Pref. to the GOS ed. of the PKS, p. X, Śiva compiled the Upāsanā-kāṇḍa of the Veda in six types of works: Āgama, Rahasya, Saṃhitā, Yāmala, Arṇava and Tantra.

⁴⁴ Quotation in RASB Cat., p. 390f. The first ten *ślokas* of the list were literally copied by KĀŚINĀTHA BHATTA in his Āgamotpattyādivaidikatāntrikanirnaya.

⁴⁵ The Saṃhitās, Āgamas and Stotras have been dealt with by GONDA, MRL. The Purāṇas (KālikāPur; Devī- and DevībhāgavataPur; sections of other Purs.) and the Upaniṣads (Śākta and Yoga Ups.) are also left out here because they attach themselves to the other texts of their own genre. The very few Sūtras are listed with the Tantras.

⁴⁶ Ed. at Poona 1932 (ĀSS, No. 22). See also LORENZEN, Kāpālikas, p. 31f.

⁴⁷ See J.N. BANERJEE, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta 1956; AJIT MOOKERJEE, Tantra Art, its Philosophy and Physics, New Delhi a.o. 1967; PH. RAWSON, The Art of Tantra, London 1973; D. DESAI, Erotic Sculpture of India, a Socio-Cultural Study, New Delhi 1975, esp. ch. VII (p. 112–145), and p. 85f. She argues that a great deal of erotic sculpture on medieval Hindu temples is little more than a caricature of Tantric sexo-yogic practices.

many evasive and often purposively defective descriptions or allusions in the texts. Last but not least, there are the oral explanations by living Tantric gurus (or modern accounts based upon these). Although they are in the first place of importance for our knowledge of the development of Tantric doctrine and practice in the recent period, they may also incidentally provide the investigator with important clues for the interpretation of the early written sources. It should be duly emphasized that oral tradition has always been of great importance in the history of Tantrism. We find many references to it in the written sources, in connection with descriptions of the early stages of their transmission as well as in the framework of the discussion of specific points of doctrine or ritual. The tradition went “from ear to ear” or “from mouth to mouth”⁴⁸. The usual term for this regular oral transmission within the line of teacher-pupil relations is *pāraṃparyā*⁴⁹. A continued *pāraṃparyā* leads to a *saṃpradāya* “school”, “tradition”, “lineage”⁵⁰. The guru is, however, never under an obligation to impart the secret doctrine to his pupils; before doing so, he should be convinced of the worthiness and sincere intentions of the candidate. “Theft of mantras” is heartily deprecated. In giving instruction, the guru is motivated by compassion (*karuṇā*, TĀ 28, 396) or grace (*anugraha*). The initiated pupil, who considers his guru as a god on earth, may then ask for additional instruction on doubtful points⁵¹. Oral instruction must have been prominent especially in the communication and explanation of mantras, and in the more practical aspects of *sādhana* (designs of *maṇḍalas*; *mudrās*; aspects of yoga, e.g. the regulation of breath). The aspirant is warned against trying to learn the *sādhana* for himself from a booklet, e.g. in the Kaulāvalinirṇaya (1, 20f.):

“The fool who, overpowered by greed, acts after having looked up [the matter] in a written book without having obtained it from the guru’s mouth, he also will certainly be destroyed”^{51a}.

In many cases, the oral instruction was given in the form of exegesis of existing scripture. There are very early references to this method. Thus, the Devīyāmala (quoted in TĀ 28, 386f.) distinguished five kinds of gurus according to their method of explaining the *śāstras* “scriptural authorities”. No wonder that the interpretation of difficult passages led to differences of opinion⁵². It is easy to imagine, but difficult to prove, that such differences of insight played

⁴⁸ *Pāraṃparyān mataṃ kaulaṃ karnāt karnagataṃ param*, KJN 17, 10; *vaktrād vaktreṣu saṃsthītam*, KT 2, 5.

⁴⁹ Its indispensability is argued in YH 2, 81; PM 1, 6.

⁵⁰ Cf. KṢEMARĀJA on NT 14, 12; RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA on ST 1, 1, vs. 5.

⁵¹ PM, *Introd.*, st. 55, in a passage especially interesting for its schematical treatment of the method of literary composition.—For the guru’s position, cf. HOENS, in: GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 74f.

^{51a} See also Vṛddhacānakya, *Textus Ornatior*, 16, 20; 17, 1 (ed. L. STERNBACH, *Cānakya-Nīti-Text-Tradition*, Vol. I, Hoshiarpur 1963, p. 98f.).

⁵² Thus the TĀ (27, 23f.) refers to a problem concerning the doctrine of the Picumata with regard to the ritual use of bowls made of skulls.

a role in the formation of new lines of tradition. But it is also understandable, if one takes the emphasis on oral instruction into account, that modern scientifically oriented studies of Tantrism exclusively based upon the written literature are liable to appear incomplete and full of misunderstandings to an initiated Tantric adept⁵³.

The esoteric character of this literature entails a strong emphasis on secrecy; no other thing is probably so frequently imposed upon the hearer or reader. "The Tantra is enclosed within the heart of the Yoginīs"; "a manuscript copy should never be recited in the house or the presence of an uninitiated person"⁵⁴. The secrecy of tradition is guarded by the lineage of gurus (MBT 74, 41). A guru should reveal the truths only to his own pupil, not to those initiated by others (MBT 1, 181). Many individual mantras are also declared to be top secret⁵⁵. Before entering on a new topic, the revealing deity often intimates that what he is going to say is a great secret, disclosed only to Devī as a special favour, but never revealed before (e.g., SvT 9, 1). It is unclear whether such statements indicate that the author really puts forward a new doctrine of his own or that he wants to emphasize cherished teachings of his *paramparā*. Also in recent times, *sādhakas* are often averse from lending their manuscripts out⁵⁶.

Besides attempts at classification, we often find in the Tantras assessments of the size of Tantric literature. While the *Samhitās* of the *Pāñcarātra* were traditionally counted as one hundred and eight⁵⁷, and the *Śaiva Āgamas* as twenty-eight⁵⁸, the accepted number of Tantras is sixty-four. Our earliest authority for this figure is probably the VST (st. 9) which says that there were sixty-four "disciples in the Tantras". Abhinavagupta points out that the Trika philosophy is the essence of the Lord's teachings which are divided over the series of ten, eighteen and sixty-four texts. The "ten" are the *Śaivāgamas*: *Kāmika* etc. and the "eighteen" are the *Rudrāgamas*: *Vijaya* etc. These two groups together make up the "classic" series of *Āgamas*; the *Śaivāgamas* are held to be dualistic, the *Rudrāgamas* to keep an intermediate position between monism and dualism, and the sixty-four "*Bhairavāgamas*" are said to teach pure mon-

⁵³ Cf. AVALON, *Introd. to Tantrābhidhāna*, p. IV f.

⁵⁴ KT 17, 102 f.; cf. also KT 3, 4.

⁵⁵ E.g., in TĀ 29, 169. A different attitude in the MNT (12, 195) which, like the Mbh., promises final release for all those who recite this text or who listen to it.

⁵⁶ Cf. "A.A.S.", *Introd. to Kaulāvalīnirṇaya*, p. 1; p. 17 f.; see also J. MISHRA in *Foreword to the Ilāhābād ed. of the MKS*, p. II.

⁵⁷ SCHRADER, I.P., p. 2 f.; GONDA, MRL, p. 39.

⁵⁸ This number already in TIRUMĪLAR's *Tirumantiram*, perhaps of the seventh cent. A.D. (GONDA, MRL, p. 180). On the titles of these *Āgamas* of the lists, see GONDA, o.c., p. 181; the series is also found, with small differences, in the NTS, fol. 24a (cf. BAGCHI, *Studies*, p. 5), and in JAYARATHA's comm. on TĀ 1, 18 (ed., p. 40), quoted from the "Śrīkanṭhi"; the 18 *Rudrāgamas* in BY, ch. 39. The lists are reproduced, not always correctly, in several modern studies, e.g. KAVIRAJ, *Śākta-dṛṣṭi*, p. 46 f.; AWASTHI, *Rahasya*, p. 18 f.

ism⁵⁹. The latter number thus became canonical for Tantric literature. When it comes to filling up this number with real titles, important differences can be noticed. The two oldest lists preserved are those from the NSA (1, 13f.) and from the Śrīkaṇṭhī or Śrīkaṇṭhasaṃhitā quoted by Jayaratha on TĀ 1, 18 (ed., p. 42). The NSA list was taken over with variants by the KulCT (1, 4f.) and by Lakṣmīdhara in his commentary on the Saundaryalaharī⁶⁰. More recent, and very different, lists can be found in the Sarvollāsa⁶¹ and the Āgamatattvavilāsa. The list from the Śrīkaṇṭhī is neatly structured into eight groups of eight texts connected with the standard series of eight Bhairavas; first come the eight Bhairavatantras, likewise taught by the Bhairavas: Svacchanda etc.; secondly, eight Yāmalas (Brahma etc.); thirdly, the Mata's (Rakta etc.); fourthly, the Maṅgalas (Bhairavī etc.); fifthly, eight Cakras; these are followed by the Bahu-rūpas, the Vāgīśas and the Śikhās. All this is scarcely realistic; we may assume that the principle of division according to the last element of the title was at work also here, enriched by a tendency to fill out schemes with additional titles referring to deities.

The NSA list looks somewhat less artificial. But here also, we find the "eight Bhairavas", "eight Bahurūpas" and "eight Yāmalas" and, besides, five Āmnā-yas. Among other items are the Mahāmāyā (or Mahāmāyāśamvara) at the beginning (the Nos. 1-4 are four Śamvaras), and the Candrajñāna, Vātula, Kāmika, Vāmakeśvara, Kubjikāmata, Viñā, Bhūtaḍāmara, Kulacūḍāmaṇi, Siddhayogeśvarī and Virāvali, all of them without doubt ancient texts quoted elsewhere or even preserved. However, several authoritative works such as the Mālinīvijaya (if not identical with the Siddhayogeśvarī), Netra, Kulārṇava, Kaulajñānavinirṇaya and many texts quoted by Abhinavagupta in his Tantrā-loka are absent from this list. Some of them may be of later date, but the conclusion is unavoidable that the accepted number of sixty-four already at an early date was not sufficient to include all the extant texts. Besides, many were probably omitted on purpose because they did not belong to a tradition respected by the compilers who might have been prone to accept doctrinal affinity rather than historical fact. A late and apocryphal list of 192 Tantras

⁵⁹ TĀ 1, 18 (ed., p. 35f.) and JAYARATHA's comm.; TĀ 37, 16f. See also PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 138; KAVIRAJ, Śāktadr̥ṣṭi, p. 48.—The traditional division is at variance with the real situation; see H. BRUNNER, Analyse du Suprabhedāgama, JA 255, 1967, p. 31-60, on p. 59 (n. 4).

⁶⁰ LAKṢMĪDHARA on SL st. 31; cf. KAVIRAJ, Digdarśan, p. 58f. LAKṢMĪDHARA allowed himself some major deviations; thus, he filled out the group of eight Bhairavatantras (Nos. 5-12 in the NSA list) with separate titles. Being a reformer, he added another list of eight Miśra "Mixed" and five Śubha "Pure" Tantras which would have contained the superior Dakṣiṇa tradition (FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 268; PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 575). — On the lists in general, cf. DWIVEDA, Introd. to NSA, p. 23f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 19f.

⁶¹ Cf. RASB Cat., p. 368f.; KAVIRAJ, Digdarśan, p. 61; differently, KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 21. The Sarvollāsa refers to the Toḍalottaratanttra; the ATV to the Svatantratanttra (cf. FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 354).

ordered according to the threefold division into Krāntās is ascribed to the Mahāsiddhasāratānttra⁶².

Also the size of each individual revelation is often described in large figures. The general pattern is that of an original proclamation by the deity in a huge number of Anuṣṭubhs or Ślokas which went beyond the capacity of mortal beings and therefore was condensed afterwards to ever more modest proportions. The tradition is not new: the Mahābhārata more than once refers to a similar prehistory of the Smṛti or Dharma tradition⁶³. Especially the early Śaiva Āgamas, but also some early Tantras follow the convention. The Kāmikāgama would have originally contained one *parārdha* (one hundred thousand billions) of *ślokas*⁶⁴, the Lakṣmītantra "hundreds of millions"⁶⁵. The MVT is a little more modest with its three *koṭis* (30 million); the SvT amounted to 100 *koṭis*; the Gorakṣasaṃhitā to seven *arbudas* of *koṭis* (colophon). Similar prehistories are intimated in the BY and the JY. In the latter text we observe the development of a standard type of 4 × 6000 ślokas (called a *saṃhitā*). The general pattern is that of a revelation of superhuman size and antiquity which was adapted to mankind by successive stages of condensation. The texts themselves as learnt from the guru's mouth (or from manuscripts?) were therefore not to be judged on their own size and antiquity but as representants of an eternal truth revealed and formulated in the hoary past. In practice, the ordinary type of Original Tantra is not too extensive, often even quite restricted in size and tends to become even smaller in the course of time⁶⁶. Problems about the real size of many of these texts will remain as long as they have not been critically edited and their recensions properly compared.

There is also a tendency in individual texts to present themselves as (sub-)sections of more comprehensive traditions sometimes called Yāmala or Tantra. Thus, we have the "Picumata from the Brahmayāmala" or the "Piṅgalāmata from the Jayadrathādhikāra from the Brahmayāmala" or the "Parātantra from the Śiraścheda"⁶⁷.

⁶² AVALON, *Introd. to Tantrābhidhāna*, p. II f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 22 f. Both fail to give an exact reference. CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 59, mentions a list of 64 Tantras quoted in the dictionary Śabdakalpādruma, s. v. Tantra, from the MahāsiddhisārasvataT. — For lists of Vaiṣṇavatantras, cf. Māheśvaratantra 1, 15 f. (64); 26, 16 f. (25). Other lists can be found in the Purāṇārthasaṃgraha; the Dāśarathītantra (KAVIRAJ, *Digdarśan*, p. 61); the Śivatattvaratnākara (cf. NCC, III, p. 91); the Samayācāratānttra (fol. 8b, vs. 128 f.; partly quoted in RASB Cat., p. 120).

⁶³ Mbh. 12, 59, 29 and 88–92; cf. KANE, HDh I, 1, p. 308.

⁶⁴ KAVIRAJ, Śāktadrṣṭi, p. 51.

⁶⁵ LT 44, 52; cf. GUPTA, *trsl. of the LT*, p. XXXV.

⁶⁶ The record is held by the "Mārjāritantra", a title given in a catalogue to ten ślokas on a mantra of Ucchiṣṭagaṇeśa. — The Tantric digests, however, are often very bulky.

⁶⁷ There is a tendency in the Buddhist Tantras to trace their tradition to a *mūla-tantra*. See S. TSUDA, *The Saṃvarodayatantra*, Tōkyō 1974, p. 28 f.

The Tantras themselves, preoccupied as they are with their legendary pre-history, often subdivide their tradition on standard principles. Different systems of classification were in vogue. The younger sources may considerably deviate from the older texts even where they use similar terminology. It is important to note, however, that the Tantrics usually did not subdivide their literature but their deities and mantras. The presumably oldest subdivision is that according to Srotas "Current". It is especially found in early Śaivatantras.

The Netratantra puts forward a division into three currents: Dakṣiṇa "Right", Vāma "Left" and Siddhānta "Established", associated with three manifestations of Śiva: Bhairava, Tumburu and Sadāśiva⁶⁸; elsewhere (9, 2) it gives these three a place in a sixfold division of all revelation by adding Saura, Vaiṣṇava and Vaidika. The Siddhānta current, also called Madhyama, has clearly to do with the Śaivāgamas⁶⁹. Abhinavagupta as well as some Yāmalaś reckon themselves to the Bhairava current which is identical with the Dakṣiṇa⁷⁰. According to the Brahmayāmala (chapter XXXIX) this current included, besides the Yāmalaś, the Yoginijāla, Yoginīrḍaya, Mantramālinī, Lākinikalpa and other texts. The left current stands aloof because of its association with the little-known figure of Tumburu who has his own group of female attendants led by Jayā⁷¹. The JY and the BY classify the Śiraścheda, Nayottara and (Mahā)Sammohana Tantras with it; the Kāraṇāgama places the Mūlāvatāratantra, unknown from elsewhere, at its head⁷². The left current seems to have become extinguished at an early date; of its texts, only the Viṇāśikha has been preserved, as far as we know. It was, however, practised for some time in Hinduized Cambodia and Java; four of its texts happen to be mentioned by title in the famous Sdok kak Thom inscription of Cambodia⁷³. The texts of the Middle Current, i.e. the "Southern" or Dvaita Śaivāgamas (a tradition condemned as "impure" in the BY) most often apply a fivefold division into Srotas and associate this, of course, with Śiva's Five Faces or Mouths⁷⁴. To the three groups described above, they add an "Eastern"

⁶⁸ NT 9, 11 with comm. by KṢEMARĀJA; ch. 11, beginning; 16, 2. Kṣemarāja on NT 11, 1 speaks of *vāmadarsana*.

⁶⁹ DWIVEDA, Introd. to the NSA, p. 53f. The Kāraṇāgama places the Kāmika at the head of this current. KṢEMARĀJA on NT 12, 1 calls it the "Upper" (*ūrdhva*) Srotas, and so do the Dvaita Śaivāgamas themselves. Cf. also GONDA, MRL, p. 155, and the literature referred to there, for another and wider division of the Śaiva tradition; on the use of the term *siddhānta*, see BRUNNER, Littérature āgamique, p. 116.

⁷⁰ DWIVEDA, l.c.; cf. BAGCHI, Studies, p. 8. KṢEMARĀJA on NT 10, 10 mentions the Svacchanda, Chanda, Triśirobhairava "etcetera" as texts of the Bhairava current.—DWIVEDA records the system found in the digest Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi, which is made fourfold by the addition of a Miśra "Mixed" current; it associates the Left with Śakti, and the Siddhānta with the Veda.

⁷¹ KṢEMARĀJA on NT 16, 76 speaks of *jayādinaya*. On Tumburu, cf. T. GOUDRIAAN, Tumburu and His Sisters, in: WZKSA 17, 1973, p. 49–95; the material collected there should be added to and qualified on some points, thanks to the discovery of the VST.

⁷² BAGCHI, Studies, p. 6; DWIVEDA, Introd. to NSA, p. 53f.

⁷³ See below, note 109.

⁷⁴ For text-places, see DWIVEDA, o.c., p. 54f.; the same, Upodghāta to the SST, IV, p. 21. The term Pañcasrotas occurs in the TĀ, 37, 16.—On the Five Faces, cf. GONDA, MRL, p. 157; GONDA, VS, p. 42f.

or "Prior" one associated with the Gāruḍatantra (destruction of poison) and with the Trotala as leading text; and a "Western" or "Posterior" one associated with the Bhūtatantra (exorcism) and headed by the Caṇḍāsīdhāratānttra. The NT on another place (16, 76) adds Jyeṣṭha (epithet? deity? corrupt form?) as "Lower" group. All this suggests a fairly coherent, though inflated, tradition which, however, cuts right through the system of 10-18-64 Tantras discussed above.

The early Śākta Tantras and the Yāmalaś often mention their adherence to one of the four Pīṭhas "seats (of revelation)" or "places of concentration"⁷⁵, especially the Vidyāpīṭha in which the Vidyā (mantra of a goddess) is held to be the main element of the secret doctrine. The Pīṭha system, referring to focal points on the doctrinal or ritual level, never became a real alternative to other classifications, but was superimposed on them.

The classificatory system most common in the Śākta Tantras is that of Āmnāya "Remembrance", "Literary Tradition". The Āmnāyas also are often held to have issued from Śiva's Five Mouths, but in other cases there are said to be six or more of them.⁷⁶ The Āmnāya system is multipurpose: it is applied to deities, *vidyās*, texts, types of practitioners, *maṇḍala* patterns and stages of transmission. One can scarcely evade the impression that the system is still more artificial than that of "Currents"; the sources often contradict each other.

One of the most systematic sources on the Āmnāyas is the Parātantra. Its overall scheme amounts to an association of the Eastern Āmnāya with Pūrṇeśvari; of the Southern with Nīśeśvari; of the Western with Kubjikā; of the Northern (*uttara*) with Kālī; of the Upper (*ūrdhva*) Āmnāya with Tripurā; and of the Lower one with (the Buddhist) Vajrayoginī. The authoritative Kulārnavatantra (III), however, declares that it represents the Ūrdhvāmnāya although its central *mantra* does not belong to Tripurā. The ascription of the Kubjikā tradition to the Western Āmnāya is generally acknowledged by the relevant texts, while the Uttarāmnāya also is frequently connected with Kālī⁷⁷. The description in the SST is complicated further by the introduction of the Hādi-Kādi division⁷⁸. The term Āmnāya may also occur outside the association with the directions of the sky; thus in the term Kulālikāmnāya which denotes a version of the Kubjikā tradition. The six Āmnāyas from Ūrdhva to Ātmā mentioned in the Maṭhāmnāyopaniṣad belong to the school founded by Śaṅkara. There is a Vaiṣṇava sixfold Āmnāya tradition in the Īśānasamhitā⁷⁹.

Some texts are characterized as Mata "doctrine"; the term is usually combined with the name of a deity (Kubjikā-, Pīṅgalā-, Nandikeśvaramata etc.). But

⁷⁵ The term remains problematic. ABHINAVAGUPTA (TĀ 37, 18) equates *pīṭha* with *samāha* "collection", "concentration". The use of the word in this context should be kept separate from its geographical meaning "centre of Śākta revelation and worship".

⁷⁶ BAGCHI, Studies, p. 3, 96, 100; DWIVEDA, Introd. to NSA, p. 57f.; Prāṇatoṣiṇī, p. 112f.; Parātantra, see also below, p. 77.

⁷⁷ Thus in NiruttaraT 4, 37f. in an otherwise rather confused scheme in which the Paścimāmnāya is occupied by Mātāṅgī.

⁷⁸ Cf. GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 42f.

⁷⁹ RASB Cat., p. 115f.—A fivefold division of *mantras* over the Āmnāyas can be found in an anonymous "Mantraśāstra", BORI Cat. No. 315, p. 339.

Mata often refers to a doctrinal system or school, e.g. when Jayaratha (on TĀ 1, 18, p. 49) or even Abhinavagupta⁸⁰ refer to a "Mata" without further specification. "Śrīmata" sometimes seems to refer to the Kubjikā school.

Other divisions, into Sampradāya, Krāntā etc., are of little relevance in our context⁸¹.

Something remains to be said on the term *kula*⁸². Most of the Śākta Tantras, including some of the oldest, declare themselves to belong to the Kula tradition. Abhinavagupta provides us with the well-known ascription of the origin of this tradition to Macchanda who, if historical, must have flourished not much later than the fifth century A.D.⁸³. It is also said that Macchanda who is sometimes identified with Matsyendranātha (although the latter is usually dated much later) founded a sub-school called Yoginikaula⁸⁴. It is not impossible that the Kula principle originated in Tantric Buddhism because it holds an important position in one of its earliest sources, the Guhyasamājatantra. As an initiatory system, Kula, at least for the adherents of the Kashmirian tradition (especially Jayaratha and Maheśvarānanda) stands in opposition to Krama and both systems are said to have issued many texts⁸⁵. The position of Kula in the early Tantric tradition is still unclear.

The younger Śākta texts almost unanimously adhere to the Kula tradition and its principles, so that Kula or Kaula almost ceases to function as a classificatory marker. The one exception is the opposition Samaya-Kaula (or Dakṣiṇa-Vāma) introduced by Lakṣmīdhara (or his predecessors) within the Śrīvidyā system; as we have seen, he assigned the traditional number of sixty-four Tantras to the Kaula denomination and added a group of eight Mīśra-tantras, i.e. the Kulārṇava, and of five Śubhatantras which would have contained his own reformist, Śāṅkara-inspired and Veda-oriented doctrine; these texts never turned up⁸⁶. The Samaya-Kaula opposition is, however, primarily one of Ācāras "systems of conduct", not of the literary tradition. In recent times, the chief twofold division within the Kula tradition is that into the Śrīkula, around the Tantric form of Śrī (Tripurasundarī, Mahālakṣmī) and the Kālikula which concentrates on Kālī. Devotees may choose between them (or rather are assigned to them by their gurus) in accordance with their personal

⁸⁰ PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 543.

⁸¹ On Sampradāyas (Kerala-Gauḍa-Kāśmīra), cf. WOODROFFE, Shakti and Shākta, p. 53, 157; DWIVEDA, Upodghāta on SST, IV, p. 30f.; on Krāntās: BAGCHI, Studies, p. 46f.; AWASTHI, Rahasya, p. 13.

⁸² On *kula*, cf. GOUDRIAAN, in: Gupta a.o., HT, p. 45; CARLSTEDT, Studier i Kulārṇava-Tantra, p. 6f.

⁸³ TĀ 29, 32; JAYARATHA on TĀ 1, 18 (ed., I, p. 25); cf. DWIVEDA, Introd. to NSA, p. 25, 35; Dwiveda ATKD, p. 25; PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 144f.; 545.

⁸⁴ BAGCHI, Introd. to KJN, p. 35; PADOUX, Recherches, p. 58.

⁸⁵ See below, p. 49.

⁸⁶ Cf. CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 56; AWASTHI, Rahasya, p. 10; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 41. On the Samaya-Kaula opposition, see also CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 35; DWIVEDA, Introd. to NSA, p. 60; VENKATARAMAN, in CHI, IV, 1956, p. 256.

disposition⁸⁷. This twofold division has been applied in the present book to the bulk of Śākta literature.

The problematic nature of date, place and other circumstances of the origin of the Kula tradition is also typical of Tantric literature as a whole. We cannot at this place lose ourselves in speculations on the antiquity of Tantric elements or even Tantric systems⁸⁸; what we need is exact references to the beginnings of the literature discussed on the following pages. As we saw, the Tantras themselves trace the origin of the sacred body of their literature to the divine Revealer who acted in time immemorial. But at the same time they do not neglect to pinpoint their position with respect to the primeval revelation of the Vedas. Some of them (among these MNT 1, 18f.) maintain that there was need for a second revelation because in the deteriorating course of time people became unable to understand the message brought to their forebears; or, according to another view, the Vedas contained only a preparatory system called *pūrvapakṣa*, destined to be superseded or fulfilled by Tantric wisdom⁸⁹. This vague and ambiguous theoretical position of the Tantras *versus* the Vedas is sometimes expressed more concretely: the Vedas would have contained a mystical part, kept secret in ancient times and revealed only when the time was ripe for it. The doctrine of the Vedic Upāsanākāṇḍa was already referred to (above, n. 43). Another and without doubt older view holds that the Tantras originate from the Saubhāgyakāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda⁹⁰. Tantric theory indeed often refers to this supposed connection with the Atharvaveda, but the factual information at our disposal does not suggest a direct line of literary evolution⁹¹. There may, however, have been a continuous tradition in the composition of literature of magic⁹². A direct continuation from Vedic to Tantric literature and doctrine is understood by Tantric theoreticians such as Bhāskaraṛāya who refers to some Upaniṣads as containing the principles of Tripurā worship and to a Ṛgvedic *mantra* (5, 47, 4) as the mystic origin of the Śrīvidyā⁹³. The latter statement is based on the view that the Tantras contain an amplification and culmination of the early tradition or, in other words, its essence; the Kuladharmā was churned by Śiva from the ocean of the Veda with the churning-stick of wisdom⁹⁴.

⁸⁷ N. L. KUNDU, *Non-dualism in Shaiva and Shakta Philosophy*, Calcutta 1964, p. 17; GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 46.

⁸⁸ For a short survey, cf. GOUDRIAAN, in: GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 17f.

⁸⁹ KT 11, 85; MNT 2, 7f.; TĀ 37, 10 (but according to JAYARATHA the term *ṛṣivākyam* here refers to *Manvādīśāstram*); cf. also V. PARANJOTI, *Saiva Siddhānta*, London 1954, p. 18.

⁹⁰ WOODROFFE, *Shakti and Shākta*, p. 136f.

⁹¹ Cf. WINTERNITZ, *Notes*, p. 8; RENOU, *Destin*, p. 11. The titles of several small tracts begin with *Atharva-*; thus, the *Atharvatattvanirūpaṇa* which deals with *Kumārīpūjā*.

⁹² See below, ch. VII.

⁹³ Cf. also VENKATARAMAN in: CHI, IV, p. 257; VVR, 7 and 60f. (the Śrīvidyā a mystic form of the *Gāyatrī*).

⁹⁴ KT 2, 10; cf. also KANE, HDh, V-2, p. 1051, n. 1692.

Arguments more convincing than these have not been brought forward, so that an appreciation of the real state of affairs can only amount to this: although many stray elements which resemble or anticipate Tantric doctrines can be found in Vedic literature (especially the Upaniṣads⁹⁵), no direct continuation of literary production from Vedic to Tantric circles can be proved.

Returning to the question of the antiquity of Tantric literature⁹⁶, we have to admit that the answer still quite escapes us. Assumptions made up till now were based upon hypothetical reasoning, outright guesswork, or faulty datings of manuscripts, but we can as yet hardly produce something better. Farquhar⁹⁷ held that Śākta ritual and theology was already developed in about 600 A.D., but he based himself mainly on a faulty dating of a manuscript of the Kubjikā-matatantra. Eliade⁹⁸ says that Tantrism is present everywhere in India from the sixth century onwards; this is presumably based on unproven early dates for the Pāñcarātra text Jayākhyasamhitā⁹⁹ and the Buddhist Guhyasamāja-tantra¹⁰⁰. References to the worship of Mother Goddesses (e.g. in the fifth-century inscription of Gangdhar) of course prove little or nothing for the existence of Śākta or Tantric literature. What we do have from this early period is a passage in Bāṇa's Kādambarī which at least proves that manuscripts on magical rites were in existence at his time¹⁰¹. But it has been pointed out that no Tantras are referred to in the Mahābhārata and the early Purāṇas while the Amarakoṣa does not refer to a meaning "religious book" in its entry on Tantra; the Chinese pilgrims are silent on the Tantras¹⁰².

Concrete data can in our opinion only be obtained from three directions: 1. dates found in the colophons of the oldest manuscripts (if correctly interpreted), or the age of these manuscripts, established by means of sound palaeographical argumentation; 2. the numerous references to and quotations from Tantric books found in Abhinavagupta's Tantrāloka (Abhinavagupta can be dated at a period shortly before and around the year 1000 A.D.); these data are, however, only relevant for part of the literature; and 3. early inscriptions or literary works which in an unambiguous manner mention titles of Tantric books or quote from them. Ad 2: the large body of texts referred to in the

⁹⁵ We of course mean the early Upaniṣads which are generally considered to stem from the late Vedic period; the late sectarian Upaniṣads, although partaking of the genre, cannot on account of their contents be reckoned to Vedic literature.

⁹⁶ For the Pāñcarātra Samhitās and Śaiva Āgamas, cf. GONDA, MRL, p. 51f.; 163f.

⁹⁷ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 199f.

⁹⁸ ELIADE, Yoga, p. 205.

⁹⁹ Dated at about 450 A.D.; cf. B. BHATTACHARYA, GOS 54, Introd., p. 34.

¹⁰⁰ Dated in the third cent. A.D.; cf. WINTERNITZ, Notes; WAYMAN, Buddhist Tantras, p. 13f., dates the GST at the fourth cent.; Japanese scholars assume a still later date.

¹⁰¹ Kādambarī, par. 216; ed. P. V. KANE, 1921, p. 68.—On early Śākta history, cf. the literature referred to in GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 18f.

¹⁰² WINTERNITZ, GIL, I, p. 482, n. 1.

Tantrāloka as venerable authorities renders it at least probable that Tantric literature existed already two or more centuries before and antedated the composition of the earliest philosophical treatises of the Kashmir schools. Ad 1: the oldest manuscripts of Tantras which have been preserved seem to date from about the ninth cent. A.D.

A Pārameśvaramata Ms. seems to date from 858 or 859¹⁰³; the Ms. of the NTS may have been written in the late ninth or early tenth cent. although it has also been dated at the middle of the eighth cent.¹⁰⁴. In some cases, the dates ascribed to old Mss. on palaeographical grounds, if not corroborated by chronograms in colophons, have been brought down afterwards. Thus, the Ms. of the Kubjikāmata considered to be "Gupta" or "Post-Gupta" and placed in the seventh cent. by Farquhar has been proved to be written in a variety of the Śāradā script and tentatively been redated at about the twelfth century¹⁰⁵. A Ms. of the Mahākaulajñānavinirṇaya, estimated at the same period as the Pārameśvaramata¹⁰⁶, has been relegated to the eleventh cent.¹⁰⁷. The Sarvajñānottaratantra is said to be represented by a Gupta Ms.; but this Ms. might on evidence of its palaeographical characteristics be placed at the same period as the NTS or a little earlier. The palaeographical study of the old Nepalese Mss. is in need of revision¹⁰⁸.

Ad 3: A most important piece of epigraphical information on the date of at least one school of early Tantric literature happens to be furnished by a source from outside India: the already mentioned inscription of Sdok kak Thom in Cambodia from about A.D. 1052 or a little later. According to this text, king Jayavarman II's court priest Śivakaivalya at the beginning of the ninth cent. (A.D. 802?) installed a royal cult based upon the doctrine of four Tantric books brought from elsewhere (India?, Java?, Cambodia?) by a certain Hiranyadāman. The texts in question are the Śiraścheda, Nayottara, Sammohana and Viṇāśikha, "the four faces of Tumburu"; they can immediately be identified as sources of the Vāmasrotas (only the Viṇāśikha seems to have been preserved). There is little reason to doubt the authenticity of this remarkable and most readable report¹⁰⁹.

An additional argument might be obtained from political history: the ascension to power of Śākta or Tantra-oriented rulers could mean that Tantric authorities obtained royal protection and therefore an opportunity better to

¹⁰³ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 199; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ H. P. SASTRI, Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXXVII.

¹⁰⁵ K. R. VAN KOOT, Die sogenannte Guptahandschrift des Kubjikāmatatantra, in: ZDMG, Suppl. III, 2 (Vorträge XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag), Wiesbaden 1977, p. 881-890.

¹⁰⁶ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 199; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 23.

¹⁰⁷ BAGCHI, Introd. to the KJN, p. 3f.

¹⁰⁸ Early tables in G. BÜHLER, Indische Palaeographie, Strassburg 1896, Tafel VI; The Paleographical Society, Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts etc., Portfolio V, Oriental Series, ed. by W. WRIGHT, Part II, London 1877.

¹⁰⁹ The inscription has been edited by L. FINOT, in: BEFEO, 15, 1915, p. 53-106; and by G. COEDÈS and P. DUPONT, in: BEFEO, 43, 1943-46, p. 57-134 (with a French transl.).

propagate their religious tenets by means of written documents prepared at their leisure. Śākta or Hindu Tantric kings are seldom or never met with before the eighth cent. A. D., although the worship of divine Mothers is certainly much older¹¹⁰. But the argument does not carry much weight; literature could certainly be produced without royal stimuli; the bad grammatical state of many old Tantras even suggests an origin outside the cultured sphere of the courts.

A cautious approach to the problem can therefore lead to no other conclusion than that the existence of Hindu Tantras cannot as yet be proved for the period before A. D. 800, but that the origins of Tantric literature may very well lie in a considerably earlier period (but in any case not before the origins of the early Śaiva Āgamas and Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās). The production of Tantric literature probably met with a serious setback during Islamic rule in the period after about A. D. 1200. Many Tantrics may have sought refuge in Nepal and (in the case of Buddhists) in Tibet. At a later period, some Hindu Tantras may have been imported again into India¹¹¹. However, Tantric texts have continued to be written till the present day; the most recent "Original Tantra" is probably the Mahānirvāṇa.

Some attention should be paid to the manner in which the texts were handed down in written form. Manuscripts were objects of more than ordinary importance: their mere possession was considered auspicious¹¹². The texts were usually written on palm leaf or paper, depending on the circumstances of time and place. In Nepal, palm leaf was generally replaced by paper in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries. Palm leaf Mss. in Devanāgarī or Bengali scripts are most rare, but of Mss. written in the Uḍiya script of Orissa palm leaf is the most common material¹¹³. The scribes were often poor Sanskritists, but they should not be indiscriminately condemned, nor should the difficulty of their task be underestimated. Their plight is suggested by a fine but incorrect stanza in some colophon¹¹⁴:

"One's back, hips and neck are broken,
one's look and face were downward;
with difficulty this manuscript has been written,
preserve it with care".

The scribe often excuses himself for the bad state in which the text is handed down¹¹⁵:

¹¹⁰ BUDDHA PRAKASH, Aspects of Indian History and Civilization, Agra 1965, p. 226f.; GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 18f.

¹¹¹ DWIVEDA, ATKD, p. 18.

¹¹² Gautamiyatantra, end.—There were private collectors, at least in the recent past, cf. CH. CHAKRAVARTI, RASB Cat., p. XIII. Rules for the shape and use of Mss. and the method of writing can be found in the Prāṇatoṣiṇī, p. 100f.

¹¹³ RASB Cat., p. XII; M. P. DASH, Preface to Orissa Cat., p. I.

¹¹⁴ In the Yogasāgara, cf. RASB Cat., p. 297.

¹¹⁵ e.g., RASB Cat., p. 596; Nepal Cat., I, p. 207.

“Just as I saw it, thus I have copied it,
whether the reading is correct or not, it's not my fault”,

but in other cases he acknowledges his inability and asks for clemency¹¹⁶.

Generally, each manuscript contained one text, but there are items which contain several works, especially in the case of small tracts on related subjects concerning worship of a particular god¹¹⁷.

The study of Tantric manuscripts entails a number of philological problems. In the first place, there is the problem of titles. A title can be a cover for several texts (very often in the case of Kavacas, Stotras or Mantras¹¹⁸) or several recensions. The recensions can be characterized by certain numbers of ślokas (e.g. the Kubjikāmata version of “six thousand”, the *Ṣaṭsāhasra*). The larger recensions may be of an “expanding” character: many stanzas are repeated from the smaller recension and other explanatory passages are added¹¹⁹. Different versions also occur in the digest literature (thus, the *Kaulāvalīnirṇaya*)¹²⁰. In a few cases, a Tantra has a *Br̥hat-* “greater” recension beside it (*Br̥hannīla*, *Br̥hadbhūtaḍāmara*). While consulting the catalogues, one is often bewildered by the differences in the numbers of chapters and stanzas recorded for different Mss. of the same text. This situation suggests a large amount of freedom in redacting, reworking or adding to a Tantric text.

Different titles may refer to the same work. Thus, we have the *Kramottama* = *Gadyavallārī*; *Cinācāra*tantra = *Ācārasāra*tantra = *Mahācinā*kramācāra; *Vāma-keśvara*tantra = *Nityaśoḍaśīkārṇava* + *Yoginīhr̥daya*; titles with or without *Mahā-*; titles with *Kālī-*, *Kālikā-*, or *Śyāmā-*; and so on. In the case of authors, one should reckon with the fact that many authors are known under both their secular and religious names: *Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa*, religious name *Vidyānanda-nātha*; *Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa*—*Śivānandanātha*; *Bhāskararāya*—*Bhāsurānanda-nātha*. They might playfully vary on their names in literary style (*Viśveśvara*—*Viśvanātha*; *Vidyānandanātha*—*Avidyānandanātha*). Famous figures such as *Śaṅkarācārya* or *Gauḍapāda* or legendary sages (*Durvāsas*) are honoured by the ascription of later works to them. Some “Tantras” current under separate titles on closer scrutiny turn out to be only parts or chapters of other texts (*Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa*, *Śoḍaśanīyātāntra*; the *Sammohatantra* = Part IV of the *Śaktisaṅgamatantra*), but the reverse is much more frequent: many relatively

¹¹⁶ e.g. *Nepal Cat.*, I, p. 124.

¹¹⁷ e.g. *RASB No. 6331, Cat. p. 498f.* Other cases are the *Yogamālā* “a notebook of some *Tāntrika*” (*Nepal Cat.*, II, p. 66f); *AKULENDRANĀTHA*'s *Sārasaṃgraha*, a collection of *Sāra* “epitome” texts; the *Brahmasandhānam*, see below p. 102.

¹¹⁸ E.g., the *Kālikākavaca*, see *KAVIRAJ, TSāh*, p. 118. Mantras can circulate independently, e.g. *Ajapāmantra*, *RASB Cat.*, p. 668f.

¹¹⁹ Cf. in Buddhist literature the *Prajñāpāramitā* texts or the *Samdhivīyākaraṇa*, an expanding recension of part of the *GST*. See *A. WAYMAN, Yoga of the Guhyasa-mājatantra*, Delhi 1977, p. 101.

¹²⁰ For other cases, cf. *CHAKRAVARTI* in *RASB Cat.*, p. XVIII f.

unimportant tracts of limited scope “ascribe” or “allocate” themselves to some “Original Tantra” in their colophons. The ascription may have a base in a real or assumed similarity of subject, but its motivation is without doubt an attempt at “canonization” of the text in question by establishing an intimate connection with some early Tantra (the ascription is only seldom vindicated by the preserved text of such a Tantra). The *loci* of ascription can be of three types: a. famous existing Tantras such as the Kulārṇava; b. legendary old texts never seen in practice; this leads to the circulation of “ghost titles” such as Bhūta-bhairavatantra or Hṛdbhedatantra which seem to occur only in ascriptions or traditional lists; c. cover titles of texts or textual traditions which may have originally existed, but the most ancient version of which is not found any more. There is, for instance, the Bhairavatantra quoted already by Abhinavagupta (did he mean: “the scriptural tradition connected with Bhairava”?). Modern monographs which ascribe themselves to such a title are sometimes listed under the cover title in the catalogues. The most famous case of this group is the Rudrayāmalatantra which covers a host of ascriptions by usually small texts, especially *pañcāṅgas* (collections of fragments on the worship of a deity) or parts of them. Other Yāmala may serve the same ends. Within one and the same Bagalāmukhipañcāṅga we find for instance ascriptions to a (ghost title) Īśvaramatatantra, to the Rudrayāmala and to the Viṣṇuyāmala. Cases like these should of course be distinguished from the many titles of lost texts of which only quotations or references have been found (Kulagahvara, Kulamūlāvatāra, Triśirobhairava and many others).

The colophons (*puṣṭikā*) in Tantric texts are liable to growth in size by the inclusion of different subdivisions of the tradition. This feature is found especially in manuscripts of the older Original Tantras. Thus, the text known as Brahmayāmala declares its adherence to a Srotas (Bhairava), a Tantra (Mahābhairava), a Pīṭha (Vidyā), a Yāmala (Brahma) and a Mata (Picu), the latter characterized by a certain number of śloka. Other intricate colophons are found in the Jayadrathayāmala, Gorakṣasaṃhitā, Manthānabhairavatantra, Uttaratānttra of the Rudrayāmala, etc. A typical elaborated colophon may also include: a. the title of a “basic text”, e.g. Kulārṇava; b. an epithet as a characteristic, e.g. Mahārahasya “Great Secret”; and c. an indication of the relation of the text in question to the “basic” text, e.g. Sāroddhāra “Extract of the Essentials”.

How are these esoteric teachings expressed in literary form? It should be emphasized that Tantric literature, at least in its more important specimens, is a specialized form of expression crammed with technicalities and in need of commentarial elaboration in oral or written form. Its aim is to instruct, not to charm; but the instruction is meant only for the initiated and the experienced. This means that the characteristics of the literary art, pedantic correctness and artifices of beautiful form, are not sought and often even shunned or ignored. Ambiguities are often aimed at, not as stylistic features, but as ways of hinting at hidden truths concealed behind linguistic symbols, or at secret

connections between seemingly entirely different existential categories¹²¹. The ambiguities are therefore superimposed upon the traditional, ordinary modes of expression offered by the Sanskrit language. The argumentation tends to be circumstantial, often repetitive and rarely systematical; but often, especially in younger texts, we come across cursory treatment of strings of subjects by succinct answers to questions which in their turn interrupt a previous exposition. In this way, some passages may almost assume the character of a catechism. The treatment of practical matters often lacks precision; in ritual prescriptions there is, for instance, a tendency to use round, sometimes almost astronomical figures (especially numbers of recitations of mantras; numbers of offerings; description of the earth; statements of rewards), so that the reader often has a feeling that the "official" rule or promise differs from practice:

"The expert in mantras should sacrifice for a thousand times; he should make it not less than a hundred" (MBT 11, 7cd).

Systematic description of things-to-be-done in the ritual is seldom met with in the Original Tantras¹²²; this is left to oral instruction or to the *paddhatis*.

The terminology is often kept vague; a subject can be introduced without the reader having an idea of what is to come, for instance when Devī (MBT, ch. XCI) requests her husband:

"tell me the secret of the meaning of *mantra* and *tantra*";

and he answers:

"What I am going to say now is the Supreme Abode".

The uninitiated reader is likely to be frustrated when words and grammar are known, even familiar, and yet the meaning of a passage remains completely in the dark. Allusions to important series of doctrinal elements are often made by unexplained numbers: "the five", "the sixteen", etc. It is most helpful when a text deigns to communicate standard terminology (*saṃketa*)¹²³ of its school, but even then its theoretical meaning or practical application in the *sādhana* remains unexplained.

The written communication of *mantras*—it is a Tantric axiom that these are greatly effective divine potencies and therefore top secrets—is very often brought about by means of some form of coding. This usually involves the replacing of individual letters by numbers or synonyms¹²⁴. Difficulties created in this way can be almost insurmountable until the key is given or somehow

¹²¹ e.g. *virya* "effective energy" and "semen", TĀ 29, 42 and elsewhere; the many meanings of *kula*; meanings of *saṃketa*; *ali*; *viśaya*; *saṃaya*; etc. etc.

¹²² A typical case: VST 117 "having worshipped in accordance with the rules, he should apply perfumes, flowers etc.; he should show the *yonimudrā*; on the right moment he should perform the ritual acts".

¹²³ Cf. the use of this term in TĀ 29, 40 after the communication of the lineage and characteristics of the early *kula*gurus.

¹²⁴ This is especially done in *mantrorodhāra* for which see below p. 130.

found out. When the actual wording of the *mantra* is given (this may occur soon after the coding in the same text; a later addition?), this is often done by enclosing it within a *śloka* setting by the addition of verse fillers¹²⁵.

In short, Tantric literature offers a jungle growth of specialized terminology rarely defined or paraphrased; of unexpected hidden meanings; of mutual intersection of fundamental ideas, categories or prescriptions. Clearing a path through these formidable obstacles is essential for the interpretation of this literature. One should never forget that the Tantras were written for insiders: vague allusions were sufficient for these, and at the same time effective in leading the too inquisitive layman astray¹²⁶.

The literary framework of most Tantras is the time-honoured device of the dialogue, or rather the record of oral instruction. In the Tantras, this instruction is given by Śiva to Devī, his spouse and Śakti, or occasionally by the latter to the former. In the oldest period, however, the ṛṣis or Śiva's son Skanda (Kumāra) still play a role in it. In the Kriyākālaguṇottara, for instance, the frame is a dialogue Śiva—Kārttikeya (Skanda), in the course of which Śiva relates how he on a former occasion answered specified questions posed by Devī. In the Mālinīvijaya, Kumāra enlightens the Ṛṣis on the contents of a dialogue Śiva—Umā. It seems therefore probable that the Śiva—Devī dialogue emancipated itself, so to say, from Epic-Purāṇic structures. This literary motif of the dialogue created an occasion to vary upon the theme of the relation between the divine couple. Both partners have a special motivation for divulging their secrets. Devī puts her questions out of compassion with the deplorable state of living beings; Śiva answers out of love for her (MNT 2, 27 f.). But in many cases Śiva at first declines to answer; he may refer to earlier proclamations (VŚT, fol. 12) or express a slight irritation because Devī asks for what is already known to her (MNT 1, 12 f.) or for what has been refused to her so many times (Yonit, Orissa Ms., st. 3). Devī invariably presses the point: "one other question" (VŚT, l.c.); she takes an oath (MKS 241, 9 f. and 33 f.) or even threatens, *mirabile dictu*, to commit suicide—and he succumbs (NirvāṇaT 11, 6). Śiva is morally obliged to speak because his wife is devoted and faithful (MKS 248, 2 f.). The sophisticated MNT (1, 12 f.) makes him allude to the Śakti's basic identity with himself so that the dialogue situation is no more than a divine play or semblance. In an early source still free of later rigidity, Devī at the end of the discourse shows her gratitude: "she clung to Śiva's neck" (VBT).

The exposition tends to focus on a few important questions posed by Devī at the beginning: "Who is the soul?" "How is the soul incarnated?" (Kāka- caṇḍeśvarīmata), etc. Sometimes Śiva (Bhairava) in the course of his explanation alludes to a subject which has not been touched as yet; Devī then may

¹²⁵ See below, p. 133: in the PS; cf. also NT 2, 21 for *Om*; *bījas* are occasionally made unrecognizable by reversing the order of their constituents, thus in the *Ṣaṣṭasāhasrasaṃhitā* 1, 15: *Īraha, Īlaka, Īraśa*, codes for *Hṛim, Kṛīm* and *Śṛīm*.

¹²⁶ Cf. PADOUX, *Mantrorddhāra*, p. 83.

interrupt him with a request for clarification. Sometimes she remarks that a certain topic has been alluded to (*sūcita*) on a former occasion, but not yet explained (*kathita*, *prakāśita*). At the beginning of a new chapter, the subject treated before is shortly mentioned: "The sixfold *nyāsa* has been heard by Thee . . . please now proclaim the *kavaca* Trailokyamohana . . ." (MKS 249, 1). This device of course facilitated finding one's way in a manuscript of a text without systematic arrangement of subjects.

It is impossible to pass a verdict of general validity on the language and style of Tantric texts, but two characterizations can be made: a. Most of the "Original Tantras" are written in mediocre *śloka*s in a style not unlike that of the average Purāṇa but often in still inferior language; and b. the digests of usually known authorship contain a decidedly better kind of Sanskrit. Some of the latter might even be called good pieces of literary composition.

The unidiomatic and even almost incomprehensible kind of Sanskrit displayed in some texts is possibly connected with the provenance of their authors from strata of society where the grammatical tradition was unknown¹²⁷. Such authors would have to content themselves with the production of strings of Sanskrit words without bothering on details of *sandhi*, inflexion or syntax; a comparison has been made with the language of the *Śilpaśāstras*¹²⁸. Some interpreters held that these authors did so for didactical purposes, viz. to facilitate the study of the textual tradition for those initiates who were unacquainted with grammatical theory¹²⁹. But perhaps the unidiomatic nature of these texts also had a motivation of its own: the expression of purposeful indifference to grammatical technicalities, a mentality which might be characterized as the linguistic counterpart of the antinomian tendency found in Tantric ritual theory and practice. However, this remains hypothetical as long as no textual affirmation for this view is found¹³⁰. Very probably, several factors were at work in the process of producing texts in ungrammatical Sanskrit; when the habit had once taken root, later authors of "Original Tantras" were inclined to follow the tradition felt to be archaic (*ārṣa*) or even superhuman¹³¹. Against the didactical theory

¹²⁷ H. P. SASTRI, Nepal Cat., I, p. LXIV, discussing the Nityāhnikatilaka by MUKTAKA; this may be a special case (an incorrect digest).

¹²⁸ H. P. SASTRI, o.c., p. LXVII.

¹²⁹ BAGCHI, ed. KJN, p. V; HAZRA, Upapurāṇas, II, p. 180 (in connection with the Upapurāṇas); cf. also L. RENOU, Histoire de la langue sanskrite, Lyon 1956, p. 94.

¹³⁰ There is such an affirmation in Buddhist Tantric literature; see the long quotation from the Vimalaprabhā (comm. on the Kālacakratānta) discussed by BAGCHI, ed. of the KJN, p. V. In our view, BAGCHI misses the right interpretation of the passage.

¹³¹ Cf. SUBHAGĀNANDA's remark on the occasion of a case of bad *sandhi* in the admittedly linguistically very good Tantrarājatantra, 25, 11: "the *sandhi* in the sacred texts should not be judged by us on account of their divine character".—V. V. DWIVĒDA's opinion (Introd. to SST, IV, p. 90) that the older Tantras lack the grammatical defaults of some younger texts, is in need of qualification.

it might be pointed out that the strange idioms and bad grammar of some Tantric texts are often in no way conducive to a better understanding. Besides, very many faulty readings must have crept in during the process of manuscript tradition, although puristic activity of scribes can also be observed. The whole question is still undecided and in need of careful investigation based upon critical editions of the relevant texts. Of course, the problems of Buddhist Tantric Sanskrit and even of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit should be taken into account.

Some of the most frequent linguistic peculiarities are (the text-places listed are meant as model instances):

- a. Defiance of *sandhi* rules (TT 25, 11);
- b. confusion of gender, especially between masculine and neuter; frequently, both genders are found in two successive occurrences of the same word (MatsyodaraT 43f.; VŠT 254f.)¹³²;
- c. confusion between nominal stems, especially those on *-i* and *-ī* (a Mantramuktāvalī gives its own title in the accusative on *-īm*, in the locative on *-yām*);
- d. lack of congruence between case endings (TT 26, 32; VŠT 151: *aprasūtā mṛtā yoṣit prāptayauvanam eva ca*; both cases are protected by the metre);
- e. incorrect derivation of verbal forms (PM, fol. 108b: *bravihi*);
- f. irregular formation of compounds (KāmadhenuT 10, 27: *anyasarveṣu* for *anyeṣu sarveṣu*);
- g. lexical and grammatical deformations owing to the precedence of the metre (PM, fol. 4b: *krkāṣa*; NiruttaraT 10, 18: *mātā bhagnī snuṣā kanyā*);
- h. defective syntax (NT 11, 16–18: no subject; subject supplied by the comm.).

For the Hindu Tantras, no systematic collections of these and other related features have been made as yet¹³³; collections should only be made from critically edited texts. We repeat that on many places these features can also be reduced to a failing scribal tradition; but their mere quantity forbids attempts at explaining them all away in this manner. It will scarcely be necessary to point out that in no Tantra the linguistic situation exactly answers the average, so that each text should be judged on its own merits and (more frequent) demerits.

The stylistic character of Tantric texts also deserves attention. The most popular literary form is the ordinary *śloka*; the style of the “Original Tantras” is usually plain, sometimes banal; their authors show a tendency to repetitiveness and often allow themselves to be distracted by associations. The formal aspect of composing is usually neglected. But some portions are better: introductory stanzas may be written in another metre or in a more polished style (NSA; YonigahvaraT.; MNT); the same holds good for meditation stanzas (*dhyānaślokas*) which describe the outward appearance of a deity, for *stotras* and for statements of rewards. As we saw, the Nibandhas are usually more correct than the Original Tantras; in the latter we find remarkable differences in

¹³² Cf. also GONDA, MRL, p. 175.

¹³³ For Buddhist Tantras, see the collection made by TSUDA in his ed. of the Saṃvarodayatantra, Tōkyō 1974, p. 16f.

literary quality. The Tantrāloka, Prapañcasāra and Tantrarājatantra (and a few other texts of the Śrīkula) are in a Sanskrit which is usually very good and not devoid of literary polish; the Mahānirvāṇatantra is written in a plain but correct style which gives evidence of modest attempts at conscious structuration; the Kulārṇava and Mālinīvijaya are reasonable; language and style of the Śaktisamgamatantra and many other texts of the more recent period, but usually also of the Yāmalaś, range from mediocre to bad and contain many incongruencies and absurdities; the state of the Vārāhitantra and a few others almost defies description.

We shortly point to a few important stylistic features (some of these are also found in texts of mediocre quality). There are many cases of anaphorical repetitions of words or parts of words, thus of *sarva-* (KT 10, 71; SarvajñānottaraT 1, 4); *viśva-* (MNT 2, 32f.); *sadā* (KT 9, 51); *tri-* (PS 8, 56); *a-* (KT 13, 57), etc. Anaphora is especially frequent in enumerations, e.g. of the qualities of God (MNT 2, 34f.); many of them occur in *saahasranāmas* (*stotras* which enumerate 1008 names of a deity) or in other formulaic *stotras* (NTS 1, 1, 26f.). Occasionally we find asyndetic homoioteleuton, esp. in archaic phrases (type *nāma dhāma*, NSA 4, 7). Parallelistic sentence structure is found in the Siddhayogeśvaritantra (fol. 25b); Kulārṇava (3, 113f.; 5, 84); JñānasamkaliniT (146), etc. etc. Chiasm is frequently applied (MNT 2, 44; 3, 32c-f, with parallelistic asyndeton; 3, 67 in a *kavaca*; KT 9, 37; NSA 1, 77f.); many cases in enumerations, *kavacas* and statements of reward. Often the style is consciously varied by the use of synonyms (MNT 3, 68 *pātu*. . . *rakṣatu*; PhetkārīṇiT 15, 187f.). Occasionally there is conscious repetition of sounds (PS 8, 22d *tarṇitam atarkitam*; repetition of *-agna-* in a stanza from the Tārīṇipārijāta quoted in the Nepal Catalogue, II, p. 147). Sound-play can take the form of an "etymology": PM, Introd., 4 and 5; KT, ch. 17; TĀ 37, 19: *mantram* so called because it is *mananatrāṇadam*; TĀ 37, 21: *maṇḍala* "which gives (*lā-rā-*) the essence (*maṇḍa*), i.e. Śiva"; TĀ 11, 55f.; there are many other cases. We find striking instances of comparisons; thus, in KT 9, 81, the yogin's path in the world is compared to an elephant's path-breaking track. Many cases can be found in the statements of rewards, e.g. Svarodayadīpikā 10: "(one becomes) a lion who wanders about in the jungle of literary theory, doctrine of logic, the sacred tradition and excellent poetry".

The unpretentious *śloka* in which most of these texts are written on closer inspection often betrays a tendency to patternized structure.

Several types of mutual relation between the four quarters (*pāda*) of a stanza may be discerned:

1. Parallelistic coordination of four quarters, often in the form of strings of qualifications or epithets, both positive and negative (e.g., Śāntyadhyāya, beginning), many of them beginning with *mahā-*, *sarva-* etc.
2. Opposition of the first three quarters to the last quarter; the latter may contain the subject as well as the verb (KT 12, 45); a conclusion or application (KT 9, 51); a consequence of processes or actions described in the first three quarters (BY, quoted by Jayaratha on TĀ 29, 11-13); a main sentence answering a relative sentence in the first three quarters (KT 9, 69; 13, 74); and so on.
3. Opposition of the first quarter to the rest, e.g. PhetkārīṇiT 10, 1: the verb in the first quarter, the object in the second, followed by two qualifications of the object, one positive, the other negative, in the second half.
4. Opposition of the first two quarters which are syntactically in the same position to the second half. The stanza may contain a series of three items the third of

which occupies the whole second half (most often illustrations of “Behaghel’s law”). Instances in KKG 2,5 (with chiasm in the first half): *viprā kṣatri-yāḥ / vaiśyā . . . //*; KT 5,79; 11,83; NiruttaraT 11,10; KJN 5,29 (series of colours); Nandīśikhā quoted by Jayaratha on TĀ 13,253 (process described in the active, the same in the passive / conclusion //); NTS 2,4,5.

5. Opposition of first half to the last two quarters, e.g. Phetk.T 11,57 (three qualified objects; chiasm in second half)¹³⁴.

6. Opposition of the two halves to each other. In a parallelistic structure: YT 12,11 (*yadā te sumukhī . . . / yadā te vimukhī . . . //*). Very frequent in initial stanzas is the type represented by Phetk.T 12,1 and 13,1, and by BY 82,1: “And now I shall proclaim . . . (object) / by the mere knowledge of which . . . (result) //.” Constructions may extend over more than one *śloka*, thus in MāheśvaraT 5,12f.; MNT 3,67f.

Very often, use is made of verse-filling expedients such as small words (*ca*, *tu* etc.); qualificatory elements (*su-* in *subhākṣitam*, TR, Jñānakh., 2,42; *sukṛpayā*, o.c., 1,18; elsewhere *śrī-*); and vocatives (e.g., *varārohe* for the odd *pādas*; *varānane* for the even *pādas*).

There are multitudes of stereotyped expressions such as: “the Tantra most difficult to obtain” (SamayācāraT 6d); “are not worth a sixteenth part” (same text, 157b; MNT 12,210); “no doubt should be had about it” (NT 19,129d; KKG 1,16b); very often in statements of rewards: “a creator and destroyer, Śiva himself” (KJN 14,66); “warding off all diseases”; etc. etc. Hackneyed phrases occur in countless numbers: “cleave my doubts with the sword of wisdom” (MāheśvaraT 5,16); “I am satisfied by the Amṛta of your speech” (same text, 1,15); etc. Here and there we come across borrowings from religious classics (e.g., MNT 3,56, cf. Bhagavadgītā 4,24; MKS, on p. 191, cf. BhagGītā 10,19f.).

Occasionally the Original Tantras use metres other than the *śloka*. A few stanzas at the beginning of the Manthānabhairavatantra are in Vasantatilaka; further on in the same chapter, there are some Sragdharās; a curious rhyming Mālinī occurs at Phetkārīṇītantra 5,27f. Many instances can be found in *stotras* and *dhyanāślokas*. The Prapañcasāra abounds in beautiful stanzas in Kāvya metres; the same are found in Nibandhas, especially in their introductory parts.

A few words should be devoted to the method of subdivision applied in Tantric literature. The Tantrāloka¹³⁵ teaches that each of the nineteen *khaṇḍas* which constitute Tantric written tradition is in its turn subdivided into nine other *khaṇḍas*: Pāda, Mūla, Uddhāra, Uttara, Brhaduttara, Kalpa, Saṃhitā, Kalpaskandha and a mystical part called Anuttara; this theory is not answered by practice. The Original Tantras most often consist of a variable number of *paṭalas* (chapters); small texts (e.g. the NSA) sometimes lack such a division. The Jayadrathayāmala is divided into four *ṣaṭkas*, each of them—in theory—consisting of about 6000 *ślokas*; these are subdivided into chapters. The NTS

¹³⁴ *Upacāraviśeṣeṇa rājapatnīm vaśam nayet /
rājānam japamātreṇa balinā sakalam jagat //*

¹³⁵ TĀ 36,7–9, a paraphrase of an “*āgama*” quoted by Jayaratha on this place.

contains a Laukikadharma and four Sūtras. Many older Tantras, as we saw, claim to be only parts of a larger tradition.

The nomenclature of the division into chapters is much more varied in the Nibandhas. There are Kalpas, Paricchedas "Sections", Prakāśas "Rays", Ullāsas "Illuminations", Taraṅgas "Waves", and many others. A popular principle is that of adapting the term for "chapter" to the title of the whole work. Thus, the Mantrarātnākara and Mantramahodadhi, two "Oceans of Mantras" are divided into "Waves"; the Śivārcanacandrikā "Moonlight of Śiva worship" into "Rays"; the Saubhāgyakalpadruma "Fabulous-Tree of Delight" into Skandha "Branches"; the Bhuvaneśvarīkalpalatā "Wish-granting Creeper of Bhuvaneśvarī" into Stabakas "Bunches of Flowers"¹³⁶.

¹³⁶ For this method, see the classic article by L. RENOU, *Les divisions dans les textes sanskrits*, in IJJ, 1, 1957, p. 1-32, esp. on p. 26f.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY TRADITION

In this chapter, attention will be paid to a number of early Śaiva and Śākta Tantric texts¹. In principle, there is no break between the Śaiva Āgamic literature discussed elsewhere² and the early Śaivatantras which are the subject of the present survey. As has been pointed out above (p. 7), the terms Āgama and Tantra were interchangeable to some degree and it would scarcely do to try to isolate these types of Śaiva literature from each other.

And yet there are differences. The Śaiva Āgamas in the form in which they are handed down in overwhelming majority in the South of India, although bristling with Tantric elements, devote most of their attention to practical matters such as regular worship, temple construction and the installation of images; although in principle dealing with doctrine as well as practice, they served as guides to concrete ritual procedures and religious behaviour: they taught what devotees should do in order to please their Lord. The group of texts which are here called Śaivatantras does not neglect ritual subjects but is much more inclined to describe topics belonging to metaphysical speculation and the devotee's personal religious experience, his path to release from earthly bondage (or to the obtainment of supernatural faculties) by Tantric methods. This leads to greater independence of the texts from each other: in matters of speculation and secret traditions of emancipatory doctrine any teacher might try to establish and maintain his own position as authoritative. Typical instances of this tendency are furnished by the main representatives of the "Āgamaśāstra" regarded as highly venerable revelation by the Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir in the last centuries of the first millennium A.D.: the Svachchandantra, the Mālinīvijayatantra and the Netratantra³. In principle, the Kashmir Śaivas also considered some of the Śaiva Āgamas, in particular their speculative (Jñāna) parts, as authoritative, but because they followed a non-dualist line

¹ For an interesting delimitation of Early Tantric literature, see V. V. DWIVEDA's list of eleven groups of "Prācinatantras" in his Upodghāta (Sanskrit Introduction) to the SST, IV, p. 20f.

² GONDA, MRL, p. 163f.-215.

³ See GONDA, MRL, p. 202f., for a discussion of these texts. We emphasize that their titles do not occur in the traditional lists of twenty-eight Āgamas; it should be noted, however, that some of the Upāgamas of the Southern tradition occur in the lists of sixty-four Bhairavatantras. For the lists, see above, p. 14.

of thought they rejected those texts which represented a dualist or pluralist standpoint or tried to explain them in their own way⁴. Besides, they were averse from over-emphasizing the ritual. The form of the Śaivatantras seems also to have been more diversified than that of the Āgamas.

Another characteristic of "Northern" Śaiva Tantric literature is the attention given in them to the notion of Śakti. Even where Śiva is unambiguously referred to as the Supreme Deity and the only source and ruler of the universe, the cosmogonic process is in some way or other ascribed to one or more female manifestations called Śakti(s). The supreme reality is considered to be the union of Śiva and Śakti (*yāmala*); there is a clear tendency to emphasize the importance of the Śakti(s) as agents of creation and accessible representatives of the Unseen, and therefore much space is devoted to the propagation of her (their) *mantras* and worship. This increasing tendency to Śāktism in the Śaivatantras renders it very difficult to draw a line between "Śaiva" and "Śākta" literature. Is, for instance, the Mālinīvijaya a Śaiva or a Śākta text? Both views might be defended. Therefore, in the present chapter no attempt has been made to separate the two denominations and their literature; this will perhaps be better possible after further concentration on this interesting body of texts. It should be remarked that what we possess nowadays is only a part, perhaps even a minor part, of the literature which must have been in existence. The texts preserved to us (often in only one manuscript) contain references to other Tantras, even to digests, which are probably lost for ever—although we can only be certain when the Nepalese archives and private collections have adequately been catalogued. Even the few texts which have been preserved are for the greater part as yet very imperfectly known.

Before some of these Tantras are dealt with in detail, it should be noted that the Amṛteśatantra, under which title a Ms. of 1200 A.D. appears in the Nepal Catalogue⁵, is nothing else than the Netratantra in which Lord Śiva occupies the central position in his quality of "Lord of the Fluid of Immortality" or "Conqueror of Death" (Mrtyuñjaya). To the same tradition belongs the Netraññānārṇava, a more recent work of considerable size⁶ in 59 chapters. It pays ample attention to ritual subjects, in particular various kinds of initiation (chapters VII–XX); erection of cult images (XXII–XXVI); worship of deities (XXVII); the chapters are not always correctly numbered in the manuscript.

The Nihśvāsātattvasaṃhitā (NTS) is of great interest owing to form as well as to content. It is preserved in a Nepalese Ms. in "transitional Gupta" script

⁴ GONDA, MRL, p. 202, 211.

⁵ Nepal Cat., I, p. LVII, 11, 125f. Ms. dated N.E. 320 and also called Mrtyujidamṛtiśavidhāna. There are 1335 *ślokas*. The Ms. is listed in the NCC, I, 357, as Amṛteśvaratantra. This title is also referred to by the Siddhanāgārjunakakṣapuṭa (ed. Vidyasagar, p. 265) and by Dattātreyatantra 1, 5. At least one *pūjāvidhi* of god Amṛteśvara is also preserved (Nepal Cat., I, p. LVIII, 49).

⁶ Ms. No. 5818 in the ASB; cf. RASB Cat., p. 19. The Ms. is not dated; there are 3500 *ślokas*.

which has probably been written, in our own opinion, not much earlier or later than A.D. 900⁷. Although the text therefore certainly belongs to a very early period of Śaiva literature, its influence may have been limited. The title *Ni(h)śvāsa* occurs as one of the eighteen *Rudrāgamas*⁸ and it is very well possible that the text which we now possess is the original *Niśhvāsa-Āgama*.⁹ For Kashmir Śaivas, the *Niśhvāsa* was not a text of special veneration; Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka* twice refers to it¹⁰, but also in this case the identity of his source with the NTS is dubious. No commentaries or later monographs based on our text are known. Its Sanskrit is unidiomatic and the manuscript is unfortunately damaged. The size is considerable (about 4500 ślokas). The composition is remarkable: the text itself (fol.41a) connects its being a *Samhitā* with the fact that it consists of four parts called *Sūtras*: the *Mūla*-, *Uttara*-, *Naya*- and *Guhyasūtra*. These *Sūtras* are of very unequal length. They are preceded by a *Laukikadharmā* of four *paṭalas* in which rituals to be performed by or for the benefit of the laity (especially aristocrats) and the results gained by them are expounded. Here and there, the text breathes the sphere of the *Āgamas* or of the *Purāṇas*, but at the same time it evidently moves away from them into a Tantric direction.

The setting is provided by the sages *Ṛṣika*¹¹ (interlocutor) and *Matanḡa* (narrator). The latter relates how in the *Naimiṣa* forest he is informed (in the company of the other sages) of the initiation of *Brahmā* and *Viṣṇu*, and this leads them to a discussion of the question as to how initiation outside the Vedic tradition is possible. The question is posed to *Nandin*, Śiva's attendant, and he imparts to the *Ṛṣis* the Śaiva revelation as it was communicated by Śiva

⁷ Nepal Cat., I, p. 137 (Ms. No. 277; 114 fol.). The Ms. always gives the title as *Niśhvāsa*- and this may have sense; on fol. 88a, the text is said to be *niśhvāsakāraṇam* "the cause of holding the breath"? —H.P. ŚĀSTRĪ, Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXXVII, considered the Ms. to be perhaps a century older than that of the *PārameśvaraT* which is of A.D. 859. Also FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 200, and BAGCHI, Studies, p. 3f. and 93, placed it in the eighth cent. This seems too early, if we compare the sometimes older form of the letters in the Ms. of the *PārameśvaraT* and the situation in some relevant inscriptions.

⁸ According to the *Ajitāgama*, *Kriyāpāda* 1, 52, the *Niśhvāsa* was given by Śiva to *Daśārṇa* and by the latter to *Śailasambhavā* (*Pārvatī*) as the third of the *Rudrāgamas*. Acc. to the *Mrgendragama*, it is the second of the *Rudrāgamas*. — An interesting passage on the *Upāgamas* of the *Niśhvāsa* can be found in *Ajitāgama*, Kr., 1, 78.

⁹ But the quotations from "*Niśhvāsa*" found in the Śaiva Siddhānta anthology *Śātaratnasamgraha* by *UMĀPATĪ* (cf. GONDA, MRL, p. 213n.; ed. PANCHĀNAN ŚĀSTRĪ in *AVALON's Tantrik Texts*, vol. XXII; the quotations also in LAS, p. 70f.) do not seem to derive from the NTS; the *Niśhvāsakārikā*, a Ms. of which is preserved in Madras (GONDA, o.c., p. 182), must also be different.

¹⁰ TĀ 30, st. 77 and 81 (for variants to a prose *Brahmavidyā* communicated to the author by one of his gurus). A *Niśhvāsatantra* is quoted once in the *Śivasūtra-vimarśini* by KṢEMARĀJA (LAS, p. 73).

¹¹ On him cf. *Rauravāgama*, *Vidyāpāda*, 3, 9 (ed. BHATT, I, 1961, p. 7).

to his wife Pārvatī¹². This literary procedure is typical of the intermediate position of the NTS: the ancient sages still hold the clues of the narrative, but the Śiva-Devī dialogue so characteristic of Śākta Tantric literature is already presented as the real occasion for the revelation.

A survey of the contents of the NTS may follow. The first chapter of the Laukikadharmā after the introduction expounds the merits and good results of various ceremonies held on given days of the year, with special attention to ablutions of the Liṅga by which one obtains the results of several Vedic sacrifices. Gifts of flowers create varieties of supernatural powers (fol. 4f.). It is emphasized that Brahmā and Viṣṇu obtained Śiva's grace by worshipping his Liṅga. Ch. 2 contains the same subject and further discusses kinds of gifts. Ch. 3 is on *tīrthas* and on worship on appointed days; and ch. 4 expounds Vedic *dharma* (rules of conduct for an orthodox *brahman*) which "opens the gate to Brahmā's heaven"; it continues with *adhyātmikam* "wisdom of the Self": a short survey of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, including a passage on the Pāśupatavratā consisting of a paraphrase of the Pāśupatasūtras¹³. The chapter is rounded off by a description of the "pure way" (*saṃśuddhādhvan*) which contains a description of mystic cosmography. All this belongs to the Laukikadharmā. A question after the Mantric way forms the transition to the Mūlasūtra. This succinct treatise contains eight short chapters (fol. 18b–23b) which deal with initiation into Śaiva esoterism and, in the framework of the preceding, with the ceremony of worship of Śiva, followed by the fire-sacrifice. Śiva is said to manifest himself in the form of the "Five Brahmās" (Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva and Īśāna) and worshipped with a famous series of five *mantras*¹⁴. The chapters 6–8 of the Mūlasūtra discuss the mantric form of the fivefold Śiva.

The Uttarasūtra (fol. 23b–29a; five chapters) goes a step further by treating Śiva's evolutionary manifestation by means of ten Śaktis and metaphysically expressed by ten categories (*tattva*). These are: *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, *niyati*, *kāla*, *māyā*, *vidyā*, *īśvara*, *śaśīśvara*, *dehavyāpin* and *śakti* (fol. 23b); the series is also characterized as an *adhvan* (way to the goal). This is followed by an exposition of the origin of the letters and of the Śaiva tradition (including an enumeration of the 28 Āgamas on fol. 24a). Then comes another short discussion of worship, *homa* and *dīkṣā* accompanied by esoteric truths. The Nayasūtra is somewhat larger (29a–41a), but contains only four chapters. It gives further particulars on the nature of the nine Tattvas (the ten mentioned above *minus* Śakti) and the corresponding letter symbols, of which the letter *a* is the most important. In ch. 1, special attention is paid to the kinds of fetters (*pāśa*). Ch. 2 includes a discussion of the four divine qualities *dharma*, *jñāna*, *vairāgya* and *aīśvarya*; ch. 3, of the five elements; ch. 4, of the *pranava*.

The Guhyasūtra is by far the longest (fol. 41a–113b). Its seventeen chapters contain a variety of subjects ranging from Purāṇic description of worlds to man-

¹² The hymn to Śiva in his eightfold manifestation uttered by Nandin on this occasion resembles a Balinese *stuti* (GOUDRIAAN and HOOPYKAAS, *Stuti and Stava*, No. 426).

¹³ The contents are called Pāśupatavratā, Atimārga or Atyāśrama in the text; cf. SCHULTZ, *Pāśupata*, p. 115f.; M. HARA, in: *IJJ*, vol. 16, 1974, p. 59 (review of: *Pāśupatasūtram*, trsl. H. CHAKRABORTI).

¹⁴ *TaittirīyaĀraṇyaka* 10, 43–47; *RauravaĀg*, *Kriyāpāda*, ch. II (ed. N. R. BHATT, p. 26), cf. J. VARENNE, *La Mahā Nārāyaṇa Upaniṣad*, vs. 277–286; BRUNNER, *Somaśambhupaddhati*, I, p. XXXIII.

tric esoterism. In several cases, subjects from the earlier parts of the work turn up again for more elaborate treatment, as the text itself admits at the beginning of ch. 4 (fol. 51a). A very interesting section in ch. 1 describes types of *sādhakas* and the deities they incarnate; this is followed by a list of sacred places (*siddhi-kṣetra*) and a description of the installation of the Liṅga in ch. 2. The third chapter contains a series of *vratas* (*śmaśāna*, *asidhāra* etc.) and their results. A fresh description of types of *dikṣā* and of cosmography (*deśādhvan*) is found in ch. 4 and continued in the next three chapters; ch. 7 in the same frame also contains more particulars on the twenty-four categories and the *guru* tradition. Ch. 8 contains *adhvayāga*; ch. 9 concentrates on mantric secrets, i. a. the nature of *Om*, and communicates a lengthy Vyomavyāpimantra; the mastery of this *mantra* and other elements of *mantravāda* (among these, a special treatment of the *mantras* of the Five Brahmās) can be found in the next part of the work. Ch. 14 describes the relevant initiatory ceremony, with special regulations (*kalpas*) for each of the Five Brahmās separately, and specifications of the results. Then follow the Aṅgas “Limbs” of the Five-Brahmā-formula and the Śaiva variety of the Sāvitrī (ch. 15), and a few other *mantras* in the last two chapters which have the character of an appendix.

The Nihśvāsātattvasaṃhitā evidently provides a link between the ordinary type of a “Dvaita” Śaiva Āgama and the esoteric Tantras. The esoteric and unorthodox character of much of its contents renders it plausible that the text for this reason could not be accepted by the early Śaiva Siddhānta.

This would have been the right place to include a discussion of the Śīraśchedatantra which is mentioned as an early Śaivatantra in the inscription of Sdok kak Thom¹⁵, but the original text has not been preserved. What we now possess are the Jayadrathayāmala and the Parātantra, both discussed further on in this survey; both ascribe themselves to the tradition of the Śīraścheda. As was pointed out above (p. 16), the Sanskrit texts mentioned in the Sdok kak Thom inscription probably belonged to the Vāmasrotas. Unfortunately, this “Left” Śaiva tradition is almost completely lost, so that we cannot decide if the worship of Śiva’s four-headed manifestation of Tumburu (or of a single-headed Tumburu with four *śaktis*) with the exclusion of other revelations of this deity was characteristic for it. It was so at least for the only text of this group which seems to have survived, the Viṇāśīkhatantra (VŚT), preserved in a presumably unique palm-leaf Ms. of considerable antiquity (about A.D. 1200?)¹⁶. It is not a large text (there are 396 ślokas) nor a basic textbook because it refers to the earlier works of the group (Saṃmohana, Nayottara, Śīraścheda; vs. 4) and gives the impression of touching a choice of subjects

¹⁵ See above, n. 109 to ch. I.

¹⁶ Ms. Natl. Archives Kathmandu No. 1-1076/Śaivatantra 171.—The Viṇāśīkhattara is an Upāgama of the Yogajñāg. according to the “Table des Āgama et des Upāgama” in N. R. BHATT’s ed. of the RauravaĀg., vol. I, 1961, facing p. XIX. The Ajitāgama, Kriyāpāda, 1, 62 (ed. N. R. BHATT, 1964) also mentions the “Viṇāśīkhyā” with other texts as an Upāgama of the Yogajñā. “Viṇāśīkhyā” figures as No. 45 in the lists of sixty-four Tantras in the NSA and the KulCT, and in the list given by LAKṢMĪDHARA; and as No. 58 in JAYARATHA’s list (comm. on TĀ 1, 18, from the Śrīkaṇṭhi).

without exhausting them. It claims to be a “Yāmalatantra”, but the Śiva-Śakti symbolism characteristic of the Yāmalas is not prominent here. The colophon at the end modestly says: “The Viṇāśikha, a Tantra of the Left”. The text is devoted to a description of various particulars of the worship of Tumburu and his four Śaktis: Jayā, Vijayā, Ajitā and Aparājitā.

In Śiva’s residence on the Kailāsa, Devī requests her husband to reveal the “five *bījas* and their esoteric secret form” (*uttaram hṛdayam*). The Lord announces the explanation of the *yāga* (an initiatory ceremony) in the first place. The rituals involve the construction of a *maṇḍala* of Tumburu and the Śaktis (26f.) and the geometrical ordering (*prastāra*) of the letters of the alphabet in a square of 7 × 7 sections (51f.) followed by the “extraction” (*uddhāra*) of the *bījas* from it. After a description of some preparatory measures (*śuddhis, nyāsa*) the worship of the five deities in the *maṇḍala* is superficially treated (94–118). Much more space is devoted to the description of special variants of this worship prompted by a new question of Devī. The “heart” of the five *bījas* and the connected procedures are explained with special emphasis on magical applications (151f.). Then follows an exposition of the *kālatattva* (a form of microcosmic mysticism) in 233f. The Śakti is present in the body provided with a fiery tube in the form of a tuft of hair (*tejaśśikhā*, 251) at the upper end of which Śiva resides: without doubt an early representation of the idea of Kuṇḍalinī. In the same context the yogic *nāḍīs* (*suṣumnā* etc.) are also mentioned. The supernatural application of these truths is told in 264f. The “hearts” again obtain attention in 310f.; meditation is recommended on (the deity as?) a fiery column piercing upwards in the yogin’s body from the heart lotus; it is shaped like a woollen thread (*unṇatanu*, read *ūrṇatanu*) or the *śikhā* of a lute (? , *viṇāśikhā*). This passage without doubt is the source of the title of the text. The treatise winds up with succinct mentioning of preparation of *mantras* (*mantrasaṁskāra*), *japa* and *homa*¹⁷.

If the Viṇāśikha calls itself a “Yāmalatantra”, its title on the other hand suggests a connection with the Śikhās, a small group of generally lost early Tantras. Eight of these are enumerated by Jayaratha¹⁸ (Bhairavi, Viṇā, Viṇāmaṇi, Saṁmoha, Dāmara, Atharvaka, Kabandha and Śiraścheda), but the historical value of this series of titles is difficult to assess (Atharvaka suggests the Atharvaśikhā-upaniṣad). There is a different and probably secondary list of Śikhās in the Jayadrathayāmala¹⁹. The curious title Śikhā “Tuft of Hair” may have been due to two factors: 1. Śikhā as name of one of the six “Limbs” (Aṅgas) of important *mantras*, each of which can be identified with a separate deity (for instance: Svachchanda, the Śikhā deity of the main *mantra* of Kubjikā), and 2. the esoteric meaning of the word *śikhā* as “internal Śakti” as handed down in the Tantrāloka²⁰ and the Viṇāśikhatantra (vs. 354f.). But all this remains uncertain. At present we have no more than a few fragments of other Śikhās preserved in the Tantrāloka and Jayaratha’s commentary on it. They

¹⁷ Vss. 349c–351b recur in the Balinese hymn collection as vss. 18 and 19 in No. 450 of GOUDRIAAN and HOOYKAAS, *Stuti and Stava*.

¹⁸ Comm. on TĀ 1, 18 (list from the Śrikanṭhi); the Śikhās are given as Nos. 57–64.

¹⁹ JY 1, 41; cf. BAGCHI, *Studies*, p. 112.

²⁰ E.g. in TĀ 6, 22, quoting the Triśirobhairava.

are from the Nandīśikhā (4 ×) and the Bhargaśikhā (5 ×)²¹. There is only tenuous evidence of the Kabandhaśikhā, while the Vipāśikhā is not quoted in the TĀ. The term for another Aṅga, Kavaca "Armour" is perhaps found in the title Kavacabhārgava, a text quoted by Rāmakaṇṭha in his Vṛtti on the Mātaṅgapārameśvarāgama²²; this must be identical with the Kacabhārgava quoted once by Abhinavagupta²³.

This is the place to refer to the Kālottaratantra, an undoubtedly old text which has often been quoted by Tantric authorities²⁴. There are several recensions; two of these, 1300 and 700 ślokas respectively, preserved in Nepalese manuscripts²⁵. The subjects lie in the field of Śaiva ritual and Śiva-Śakti esoterism. The larger or Bṛhat recension begins with special subjects from the ritual (rites of atonement, the rosary etc.), then discusses a great number of *vratas* connected with the ritual calendar and proceeds with some more esoteric subjects (doctrine of elements, the yogic *nāḍis*, the relation of the *ācārya* and the candidate for initiation, mysticism of the *pranava*). Several aspects of the worship of Śiva (including ritual care of the dead) occupy a large part of the text; its later chapters are devoted to cosmology, supernatural powers and magical effects obtained by recitation of *mantras* and *vidyās*, especially those connected with Śiva's Five Faces. The interlocutors in this text are Śiva and Kārttikeya (Skanda). There is also a Devikālottarāgama which consists of only 84 stanzas on Jñāna, esoteric wisdom destined for the yogin who strives after final release. The text is accompanied by a Vṛtti by Nirañjanasiddha which according to its colophon was composed on the model of a commentary in Kannada (Karnātabhāṣā) by Nirañjana's guru. The text is probably of Vira-śaiva provenance²⁶.

The Sarvajñānottaratantra is without doubt one of the earliest preserved Śaivatāntras²⁷. The interlocutors are again Śiva and Skanda. No originality is

²¹ The Nandīśikhā seems to have been divided into Ṣaṭkas (TĀ 13, 251); the Bhargaśikhā is called Bhargāṣṭakaśikhākula in TĀ 32, 62.

²² N. R. BHATT, ed. of Mātaṅgapar. Āg., I, Vidyāpāda, Pondicherry 1977 (PIFI, 56), Intro., p. XV.

²³ TĀ 23, 6. GNOLI, Luce, p. 883, identifies Kacabhārgava and Bhargaśikhā.

²⁴ TĀ 11, 19, an equation of Śiva's Five Faces with the Five Elements; cf. KālottaraT, fol. 211a and elsewhere. Other quotations by HEMĀDRI, Caturvargacintāmaṇi; RAGHUNANDANA, Smṛtitattva, etc.

²⁵ For more particulars, see Nepal Cat., I, p. LIX, 9 and 96f. — A recension of 350 ślokas has been edited by N. R. BHATT (PIFI, 61).

²⁶ Ed. G. KAVIRAJ, in Tantrasaṃgraha, II, Varanasi 1970 (p. 318–345) with the Vṛtti. Earlier edition from Hubli in Kannada characters, together with the Vātula, Sūkṣma and Pārameśvara Āgamas. There is no reference to MSS. in KAVIRAJ, TSāh.

²⁷ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXIVf. and 85f. The Ms. is very old, but incomplete; it may be provisionally put into the same period as that of the NTS or a little earlier, perhaps the ninth cent. A.D.—The Jñānapāda has been edited from Devakoṭṭai in 1923 acc. to GNOLI, Luce, p. 889.—The title Sarvajñāna occurs as No. 54 in the NSA list, as No. 51 in the KulCT list (Sarvajñānātmaka); LAKṢMĪDHARA's list includes Sarvajñānottara as No. 53.

claimed. At the very beginning there is a reference to the "Vāthulatantra"; our text claims to contain only the essence of the earlier tradition excerpted from the Śāstras, just as the gods and Asuras took the Amṛta from the Ocean of Milk²⁹. The contents mainly concern the worship of Śiva's Five Faces including initiation into the Śivamaṇḍala, fire sacrifice, ritual ablution etc. There is also a description of the world (called *adhvan*; elsewhere, i. a. in the Svacchandanatantra, we have the *bhuvanādhvan*) which belongs to the esoteric part of the tradition³⁰. Attention is also paid to yoga and reflection on the relation of Śiva and the world (occurrence of the terms *paśu*, *pāśa* and *pati*, fol. 20f.). The method (*upāya*) of identification with the Śiva-nature is in the first place the meditation on the individual Self as identical with the All and devoid of all representations (fol. 22f.); this leads to a discussion of the evolution of the Tattvas. After this, the text (on fol. 25f.) returns to ritual subjects: kinds of bathing, the Śivavrata, temple worship, the installation of the Liṅga, initiation, particulars about the *kamaṇḍalu* (ritual water-pot) and other items.

The Tattvasadbhāva, according to its colophon, belongs to the Vidyāpīṭha of the Bhairavasrotas; it is ascribed to Śambhunātha. There seems to be only one Ms., dated A.D. 1097³¹. The text might be identical with the Tantrasadbhāva ascribed to Śambhunātha, quotations from which are found in Trika authors. Among these is an important fragment on the fourfold nature of the Kuṇḍalinī³². A quotation from "Tantrasadbhāva" by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on Netratantra 19,55 deals with demoniac females and might have been taken from the Kriyākālaguṇottaratantra which also calls itself Tantrasadbhāva (in 1,10).

Of a definitely later date and minor importance is the Liṅgārcanatantra which, as its title intimates, mainly treats of details of Liṅga worship. The colophon mentions Jñānaprakāśa as a second title³³.

An important but insufficiently preserved group of old Tantras is that commonly known as the Yāmalas.³⁴ The word *yāmala* has been used to denote the

²⁸ In the form Vātula, this title occurs as the fourth or the eighteenth of the 18 Rudrāgamas. It may be that the reference to this title (*samāpte Vāthule tantrē*) implies nothing more than that the original tradition of the Rudrāgamas had been completed in the author's time.

²⁹ On the Ocean of Milk, cf. RÜPING, Amṛtamanthana, p. 7; 15.

³⁰ A passage from fol. 13a on the need of caution in divulging secret wisdom is paraphrased in TĀ 23,20f. There are other quotations in the TĀ (4,248f.; 9,45; 27,6; 28,231) and the Śataratnasamgraha.

³¹ Nepal Cat., II, p. 113f.

³² Quoted by JAYARATHA on TĀ 3,67, and by others. Cf. PADOUX, Recherches, p. 112; LAS, p. 52f.

³³ There are 18 chs. and a little less than 1000 *ślokas*. Most Mss. are from Bengal. Cf. RASB Cat., p. 216f.; CSC Cat., V, No. 83 (p. 85f.); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 575.

³⁴ On the position of the Yāmalas in Tantric literature, cf. BAGCHI, Studies, p. 6; BAGCHI, in CHI, Vol. IV, 1956, p. 216f.

primeval blissful state of non-duality of Śiva and Śakti³⁵, the ultimate goal for the Tantric *sādhaka*. A number of texts which described this state and taught the way to attain it were then characterized by the same doctrinal term. Although the label Yāmala suggests a certain inner coherence of the group, it is difficult in practice to draw a line between these and some other old Tantric texts. In general, we can say that most Yāmalas are (were) typical Bhairava-tantras characterized by the development of Śākta tendencies within Śaivism³⁶, but this does not hold good for all Yāmalas in the same degree, while the process is not restricted to them. The Śāktic influence may manifest itself in the much larger space devoted to the description of Śaktis, their symbolism, their *mantras* and *vidyās*, but also in marginal traits such as the use of the Śiva-Devi dialogue as a framework. One might hold that the Yāmalas can be distinguished from the Śākta Tantras in this sense that the former texts in principle describe the bipolarity of Śiva and Śakti, while the latter place a particular Śakti in the focus of attention; but this view cannot be strictly maintained. Some Kaula or Śākta Tantras indeed describe a bipolar Supreme Being or Essence, while a Śakti, even if described as a separate deity, has probably never been thought to be entirely devoid of a male partner. On the other hand, a Yāmala could be considered a Kaula source by ancient authorities (e.g., the Brahmayāmala by Abhinavagupta). In any case, the subjects discussed in the Yāmalas as well as their tone markedly differ from (those of) the ordinary type of Śaiva Āgama (with perhaps the exception of the Piṅgalāmata). Nevertheless, the type of a Yāmala must be very old; the Vijñānabhairavatantra³⁷ already considers itself to be an appendix to the Rudrayāmala, and the same has been claimed for the Parātrīṃśikā³⁸. Abhinavagupta in his Tantrāloka profusely paraphrases and refers to the Brahma- and Devīyāmala (but not to the Rudrayāmala); for him, they evidently occupied the position of venerable authorities. This suggests (but does not prove) that the origin of the Yāmalas lies in Kashmir or other regions of the North-West of the Indian subcontinent. The time of their origin is difficult to assess. Their formative period in any case lies before A.D. 900³⁹.

In the ancient period, the current Yāmalas seem to have borne the names of important deities. Abhinavagupta knew, besides the Brahma- and Devīyā-

³⁵ Cf. DASGUPTA, *Obscure Cults*, p. XXXV; TĀ 3, 67f.; 3, 234.

³⁶ Cf. the antithesis Yāmala—Ekavīra in the NT (8, 57; 13, 39) and in KṢEMA-RĀJA's comment on SvT 9, 47.

³⁷ On this text, see GONDA, MRL, p. 208f.

³⁸ Parātrīṃśikā, last *śloka*: . . . *ity etad Rudrayāmalam*. There is an interesting comment by ABHINAVAGUPTA on this place: "Rudrayāmala (is it called) because it procures the result of the Rudrayāmala of 12½ million ślokas . . .". Cf. A. PADOUX, *La Parātrīṃśikālaghuvṛtti de ABHINAVAGUPTA* (ed. and trsl. into French), Paris 1975 (PICI 38), p. 62 (different interpretation by PADOUX in his trsl. on p. 47; see also p. 8).

³⁹ BAGCHI, in CHI IV, p. 216f., assigns the Yāmalas to the period between the sixth and the ninth centuries.

malas, also the Skandayāmala (TĀ 28,430). This tradition was followed in the lists of eight Yāmala which occur here and there, in the first place in the Brahmayāmala itself, then in Jayaratha's list of sixty-four Tantras (as Nos. 9-16), in the Tantracintāmaṇi, and in Bhāskaraṛāya's comment on the list of Tantras in the Nityāṣoḍaśikāṛṇava (the latter text contents itself with a general entry *Yāmalaśṭakaṃ*). A schematical representation of some lists of Yāmala may follow:

Jayaratha (on TĀ 1, 18)	BY (fol. 169a)	Vidyānanda (on NSA 1, 15)	Tantracintāmaṇi (RASB Cat., p. 390f.)
Brahma-	Rudra-	Brahma-	Brahma-
Viṣṇu-	Skanda-	Viṣṇu-	Viṣṇu-
Svacchanda-	Brahma-	Rudra-	Rudra-
Ruru-	Viṣṇu-	Jayadratha-	Siddha-
...	Yama-	Skanda-	Devī-
Ātharvaṇa-	Vāyu-	Umā-	Umā-
Rudra-	Kubera-	Lakṣmī-	Candra-
Vetāla-	Indra-	Gaṇeśa-	Śakti-

The late Samayācāra Tantra (fol. 8b) adds a list consisting of the Viṣṇu-, Brahma-, Śiva-, Śakti-, Gaṇapati-, Skanda-, Sūrya- and Candra-yāmala. All the lists give the impression of having been largely made up theoretically. Almost all known titles of Yāmala are present in them⁴⁰, but the occurrence of the Jayadrathayāmala, an important and preserved source, in only one list is apt to arouse suspicion. Moreover, the Piṅgalāmata which considers itself a part of the Jayadratha Y., occurs as a separate text in Jayaratha's same list of sixty-four Tantras (as No. 22); a Picubhairavī, perhaps identical with the preserved Picumata from the Brahmayāmala, figures there as No. 25. This complicated situation might lead to the supposition that "Yāmala" already at an early stage was used as a generic term which served as a locus of ascription or a general marker for related texts by which they could anchor themselves in ancient and venerable tradition. The Picu- and Piṅgalāmata furnish early instances, and other titles of individual texts may have got lost under their generic designation as "Yāmala". It is not impossible that Deviyāmala (or Umāy.) "Union with Devi" was originally the only genuine Yāmala title extant.

It is now necessary to have a look at a few preserved texts which label themselves as Yāmala. One of the earliest and most important is certainly the

⁴⁰ A Virayāmala is quoted in Śiva Upādhyāya's comm. on the VBT, vs. 138; cf. LAS, p. 125; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 604.—For the Kṛṣṇayāmala, see below, p. 109.

⁴¹ The BY is the basic text (*mūla*) of all Yāmala according to the JY, ch. 41 (BAGCHI, Studies, p. 112).

Brahmayāmala⁴¹ or, more accurately, the Picumata from the Brahmayāmala⁴². It is a large and old text; the best known manuscript dates from A.D. 1052 and contains 101 chapters⁴³. The text itself must date from considerably before A.D. 1000 because it is often quoted by the Tantrāloka (under both titles: Picumata and Brahmayāmala; it is not quite certain if these titles always refer to the same text).⁴⁴ The contents consist of a startling variety of ritual and esoterical matters presented without serious attempts at systematization.

After a dedicatory stanza in Sragdharā metre, Aghorī requests Bhairava to give more information on the fourfold Piṭha, the “descent” of the Tantras, the types of Bindu, the Nine Śaktis and their different manifestations, and the question as to how to obtain *siddhi* by realization of the fundamental unity of existence; a *siddhi* which would also have to be accessible to women. The Lord (Īśvara) begins his exposition with a reference to Śrīkaṇṭha as the person from whom he himself obtained the doctrine in former times. Īśvara then communicated it to Devī but she divulged it without permission and was cursed to be incarnated in a Brahman family in Kaṇavīra near Prayāga. The revelation was afterwards handed down to earth by way of the eight Bhairavas and the human sage Devadatta of Odra⁴⁵.

Chapter 2 (the chapters are very unequal in length) communicates the *mantras* of Aghorī and of a number of secondary deities: the six Yogeśīs who issue from the Goddess’ “Limbs” (heart, head, crown or hair-tuft, armour, missile and eyes) and the eight Mothers who issue from the vowels. In ch. 3, we find particulars of a ninefold *yāga* associated with the Nine Śaktis, and a detailed description of the construction of the eight cremation grounds (*śmaśānamaṇḍala*) known also from Tantric Buddhism⁴⁶. Chs. 4, 6 and 7 contain regulations on image worship; 5, on *yantras*; 8 and 9, on meditation on goddesses for various supernatural results; 10, on varieties of the Goddess’ *mantra*; 11, on the *mantras* of Bhairava (i.e., his “thrones” in the directions of the compass) and of the threefold Śakti; 12, on *nyāsa* thereof; 13, on ninefold worship. Chapter 14 deals with the Yoginīs and their worship; 15, with initiation into fearsome rites; 16, with flowers; 17, with the *vidyācakra*; 18, with *japa*; 19, with the *bhautikacakra* for specialized results; 20, with *homa*; 21, with nine *vratas*; 23, with the *mantra* of Mrtyumujaya;

⁴² The title Brahmayāmala occurs only intermittently in the colophons from ch. 27 onwards. Other generic names found in the colophons are (Mahā)Bhairavatantra and Dvādaśasāhasaka. Only Picumata is almost ubiquitous in the 101 colophons; it would therefore be advisable to use this term as the title of our text. “Picuvaktra” presides over the sixth Srotas acc. to Jayaratha on TĀ 28, 146f.—The text itself often refers to “Ucchuṣmatantra” and this title occurs once in the col. to ch. 36.

⁴³ Ms. No. 3–370/Śaivatantra 129 in the Natl. Archives at Kathmandu, palm leaf, 365 fol. Two other Mss. exist acc. to Nepal Cat., II, p. 61.

⁴⁴ Acc. to the PM, there were seven BY texts, associated with Durvāsas, Picu, Sarasvatī, Jayadratha, Phetkāra, Raktā and Lampaṭā (PM, introductory ch., vs. 44). BAGCHI, Studies, p. 102, estimates the present text at the eighth century.—For the quotations, cf. GNOLI, Luce, p. 884 and 888; PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 917; LAS, p. 93f.

⁴⁵ For more particulars, cf. BAGCHI, Studies, p. 102f.

⁴⁶ Cf. R. O. MEISEZAH, Śmaśānavidhi des Lūyī (textual criticism acc. to the Tibetan version of the commentary Sambarodaya by TATHĀGATAVAJRA), in Zentralasiatische Studien, 8, 1974, p. 9–127; POTT, Yoga en Yantra, p. 83f.

22 and 24, with *guhyāmṛta*: rituals with alcohol and woman partners. The chapters 25f. mainly treat of sacrificial ceremonies, and worship of (*mantras* of) various Śaktis, i. a. of the Bhairava Kapālīśa with his four main Śaktis Raktā, Karālā, Caṇḍākṣī and Mahocchuṣmā (ch. 29); they return several times in the text and play an important role in the whole system; 33f. are on *dikṣā* and other relevant subjects; 39, on the currents of the tradition (Srotranirṇaya). Then follows a series of minor subjects treated in small chapters; 45, on types of *sādhakas* (also 63, 91f.); 46f., on *vīra* rituals. There is a break in the text; the beginning of ch. 51⁴⁷ gives a retrospect of the previous part and refers to the completion of the first *ṣaṭka*. Devī then asks for the communication of a number of other subjects.

The main topics treated in the second part are: *yantras* (51; also 49); multi-coloured representations of manifestations of Bhairava and their Śaktis (52–54); *kulotpatti* of the three Śaktis, and their signs or symbols (*chommādhikāra*; 55 and 73); *sādhana* of Aghori (57); particulars of the Yoginīs (56, 58, 78); nature of the Bindu (59); particulars of the Śaktis' "periods" (*ṛtu*, 60f.); ritual with a corpse (*kaṅkālavrata*, 62); minor rituals such as worship of Yakṣiṇīs for special *siddhis* (64f.); worship of Śaktis (72); several *bījas* (74f.); the Bhairava Heramba (76); Ardhanārīśvara (77); minor deities (80f.); the Utpullamantra (82; this part is perhaps referred to by the TĀ as Utpullakamata). Ch. 84 is presented as the Uttarādhikāra in which a series of new questions is posed by Devī on problems of worship, *cakras* and *yoga*. Her husband answers by discussing i. a. *linga* worship (86); the Kūrmaprastāra, showing how Śiva is present in *mantra* form in the earth element (88); the internal *cakras* (89); *yoga* in the *kula* method (95f.); particulars on Kula (98f.); the method of fighting death (101).

The Picumata is a typical representative of the Bhairava current in Śaiva Tantrism. It concentrates on the Bhairava manifestations of Śiva and their Śaktis and includes many details on the quest of perfection by means of fearsome and erotic rituals, of which one instance may be given (chapter XXIV, fol. 112a); it is also typical of the difficulties of interpretation which arise in a ritual context:

"From here on I shall proclaim the Origin of the Water-of-Life of the Secret Circle (*guhyacakrāmṛta*) . . ., one should design a circular figure (*cakra*) of eight spokes; on the Eastern spoke the (first) sexless (letter, i. e. the *ṛ*) should come, on the Southern spoke, the second (the *ṛ*) . . . etc. . . ., on the South-Eastern spoke, the first vowel (the *a*) . . . etc. . . .; outside, the fifth (vowel), and the others, all in due order . . .; the (consonants), divided into the groups of gutturals etc., should come two by two in due order, on the Eastern confluence of *nāḍīs*, while two of them (*dvayor*, translated as nominative) are standing on the front end of the *nāḍīs* (??); and the Lord of Dharma one should assign to the middle of the navel (or: to the central point of the nave, *nābhīmadhye*); the Śakti of Wisdom (Jñānaśakti) should be added above these two (?) as the presiding deity of the circle. Having surrounded (her?) with a circular line, the experienced man should lay down (another?) alphabet, beginning with the *a*, from the eastern spoke onwards. In the part of the *amṛta* (? *mṛtavibhāge*; the line is incomplete) this is known as the Śakti Circle. One should cause the Śakti (the human partner) to stay immovable . . . when she has been brought to excitement, she should be laid on the

⁴⁷ The colophon gives the number 49 and continues by giving numbers too low by two up till ch. 80. The reason is probably that chs. 49 and 51 both bear the title Yantrārṇava.

glorious Śakti resting-place (*pīṭha*) . . . ; the Śakti, who is in her monthly period . . . (text unclear) . . . ; in the night, fasting, the experienced man should perform his individual ceremony; having satisfied her with gifts (*tarpaṇam kṛtvā*), the possessor of *mantras* (= the Sādhaka) should bring about excitement; having brought his Śakti to excitement, he should wash her generative organ; he should collect all the water, with the blood, into a vessel . . .”

A closer study of the Picumata, although certainly not an easy task on account of its cryptic ways of expression, rambling style and bad grammar, is necessary for a better insight into early Hindu Tantrism. A discussion of the several ascriptions to the “Brahmayāmala” in existence can be dispensed with here⁴⁸. The text of this title, a manuscript of which is preserved at Calcutta⁴⁹, is different and treats of divination by means of *mantras* or *cakras*. The Piṅgālāmata, which also pretends to be a part of the Brahmayāmala, will be discussed presently.

Of the Devīyāmala no text seems to be extant, but there are some quotations and references, especially in the Tantrāloka but also in more recent sources such as the Vidyārnava-tantra and the Tārābhaktisudhāhṛaya and even in the nineteenth-century commentary by Rāmeśvara on the Paraśurāmakaṣpāṣṭra. It cannot be doubted that it represented an independent *guru* tradition held in honour by the Tantrics of Kashmir; the TĀ refers (in 22,31) to Īśānaśiva as the expounder of the Devīyāmala. The many quotations in the TĀ give an idea of the subjects covered by this Yāmala. For instance, the *mantra* and worship of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī were proclaimed in the first part or chapter of the Dāmarakayāga, a section of the DevīY. (TĀ 3,70; 15,335). It was also considered by Abhinavagupta to be an important source for the Trisūlamanḍala in which the three Śaktis Parā (= Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī), Parāparā and Aparā were the main figures (TĀ 31,85f.). A substantial number of ślokas are quoted from the same source by Jayaratha (on TĀ 28,390f.) on the subject of the exposition of the sacred lore by ten gurus, incarnations of Rudra. It should, however, be noted that the DevīY. is not quoted by Abhinavagupta in the important chapter 29 of his Tantrāloka which deals with the secret *kula* ritual. The DevīY.’s insistence on Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī might lead to the supposition that we have to do with a source of the Krama tradition, and this would be in tune with its teaching of the gradual access to Śiva after death by means of ever higher worlds (TĀ 8,212). It is possible that the title Umāyāmala, found in a few lists of Yāmalas (see above), refers to the same text⁵⁰.

The title Jayadrathayāmala covers a few extensive manuscripts preserved in Nepal. According to the colophons, this Yāmala contained 24.000 ślokas and was divided into four Ṣaṭkas. It has been named after the epic hero Jayadratha, husband of Duryodhana’s sister; he won Śiva’s grace after a period of asceticism

⁴⁸ Cf. Cat. Cat. I, p. 382 and II, p. 86.

⁴⁹ RASB No. 5892; Cat., p. 94; a text of about 1000 ślokas.

⁵⁰ Cf. also the NCC, II, p. 395, for references in other texts.

in Badarikā by the intervention of Pārvatī⁵¹. The text claims to be the revelation imparted by Śiva on that occasion. The four Śaṭkas have been transmitted in manuscripts of very unequal age; only that which contains the fourth Śaṭka is surmised to date from an early period, viz. the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the thirteenth century⁵². According to its colophon, it belongs to the Vidyāpīṭha of the Bhairavasrotas and to the Śiraścheda. The impact of the latter term is not at all clear. Śiraścheda is one of the four Tantras mentioned in Cambodia in A.D. 1052⁵³, but it is most doubtful if the Jayadrathayāmala or a part of it is involved. The fourth Śaṭka is concerned with the worship of manifestations of Kālī in a *cakra* called Rābīṇī (Rāviṇī) and definitely belongs to the *krama* or *kula* of that deity (elsewhere called the Uttaraṁnāya). It seems rather improbable that this is one of the oldest Tantras, but further research into the text is necessary before a more definite standpoint can be taken. The same holds good in the case of the other quarters of this Yāmala which are handed down in relatively recent manuscripts. The first Śaṭka⁵⁴ is devoted to Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī whose worship it describes in fifty chapters. A few of these (35, 36, 41), discussed by Bagchi, contain information on the Tantric tradition, i. a. a fivefold division of the Śāstra (into Laukika, Vaidika, Adhyātma, Atimārga and Arṇava) related to the doctrine of the Nihśvāsataṭṭvasaṃhitā⁵⁵. The second Śaṭka⁵⁶ contains particulars on the *mantras* of a great number of deities, usually forms of Kālasaṃkarṣiṇī (the first 24) or Kālī. In the colophon it bears a second title Mahākālīkātantra. The Ms. is incomplete; it begins in the middle of the discussion of a series of "banners" in the eight directions of the compass⁵⁷. Śaṭka three⁵⁸, at last, contains a variety of subjects ordered in Cakras of deities: Trailokyadāmara, Cakreśvarī, Ghoratarā (including a 24-fold *dikṣā*) and Yoginī(s). In a passage at the end quoted by Bagchi the title is repeatedly given

⁵¹ SÖRENSEN, Index, p. 357f.; cf. also BAGCHI, Studies, p. 8.

⁵² BAGCHI, Studies, p. 114. This Ms. is not described in the Nepal Cat. It may have come from Kanauj because it mentions the famous king JAYACANDRA who ruled there in the second half of the twelfth cent. (he was slain in a battle with Muslim forces in 1194 A.D.: A.K. SRIVASTAVA, The Life and Times of KUTB-UD-DIN AIBAK, Gorakhpur 1972, p. 71f.).

⁵³ See above, n. 109 to Ch. I. Cf. also BAGCHI, Studies, p. 9, and below, p. 77 (the Parātantra).

⁵⁴ Nepal Cat., II, p. 1f.; BAGCHI, Studies, p. 110f. The Ms. dates from N.S. 843 = 1723 A.D. and is apparently complete.

⁵⁵ NTS, Laukikadharmā, 1, 21. The Arṇava mentioned in the JY may refer to the Kulārṇava (not the KT) mentioned as a tradition in the concluding part of Śaṭka II (Nepal Cat., I, p. 176).

⁵⁶ Ms. dated N.S. 762 = 1642 A.D. Nepal Cat., I, p. 175f.; BAGCHI, Studies, p. 112f., where the numbers of the chs. are incorrectly reproduced.

⁵⁷ The deity of the banner of the Wind is Jhaṅkārabhairavī; cf. Jhaṅkeśvarī, n. 15 to Ch. IV below.

⁵⁸ The Ms. is not mentioned in the Nepal Cat. but shortly discussed by BAGCHI, Studies, p. 113. It is estimated at the seventeenth cent. and seems to contain 39 chapters.

as Śiraścheda(tantra). The general verdict should be that even if these Śaṭkas of the Jayadrathayāmala would prove not to belong to the oldest tradition, they in any case contain interesting information on the worship and *mantras* on a host of Tantric deities, especially of Kālī⁵⁹.

The Piṅgalāmata⁶⁰ claims to belong to the same tradition, but in reality this is a text of very different character. It is not impossible that the designation as Piṅgalāmata is only due to the fact that the text has the form of an interrogation of Bhairava by Piṅgalā (we learn nothing of her from the text); the other title borne by it, Pratiṣṭhākālpa, gives a better idea of the contents. In an introduction called Vyākhyāprakaraṇa "Guide to Exegesis" which was probably added afterwards, the position of the text in the tradition is stated with meticulous care. We learn that the Piṅgalāmata belongs to the Jayadrathādhikāra and follows (*anuyāti*) the Brahmayāmala. The Jayadratha is said to be one of the seven Tantras which do so. The Jayadratha itself again consists of seven Sūtras; a statement completely at variance with the textual composition of the preserved manuscripts of the Jayadrathayāmala. Besides, the introduction mentions Śrikanṭha as the author. The text as we have it is almost completely absorbed in a detailed description of the construction and inauguration of the Śivaliṅga in both the "manifest" and "unmanifest" forms^{60a}; it also treats of Śaiva images and temple construction. Śākta tendencies are almost completely absent. This devotion to Śaiva temple ritual is most remarkable in a text of a decidedly Tantric milieu. It must have served as a handbook for Sthāpakas (religious functionaries responsible for the correct execution of the construction and ritual inauguration of temples and images) of a Śaiva school of Northern India. The subject is discussed methodically in a style known from the Śaiva Āgamas (but the author insists on Advaita in chapter XIX, fol. 112a). Chapter I treats of the officiants, especially the *ācārya* and *sādhaka*; II and IV (beginning) of the collection of materials; III, of the Mukhaliṅga; IV, of images of Śaiva deities. The short chapter V is on painting; VI, on forms of the pedestal, with special attention to magical results of the varieties; VII, on temple construction, including the Vāstucakra (ceremonial ground plan) in VIII; IX and X deal with private buildings. The following chapters concentrate on inauguration of Liṅgas and other objects of worship; XVIII on the erection of banners; XXI on *pavitrārohaṇa*; XXIV gives information on types of *sādhakas*.

⁵⁹ An apocryphal Jayadrathayāmala (called Uttaraśaṭka) treats of the worship of Bagalā (RASB, No. 5893; Cat., p. 95f.). Some other tracts on Bagalā ascribe themselves to the JY: NCC, VII, p. 178.

⁶⁰ Ms. dated N.S. 294 = A.D. 1174 (No. 3-376/Śaivatantra 113 in the Natl. Archives at Kathmandu). Its size may be estimated at about 3750 *ślokas* (4200 acc. to H.P. SASTRI, Nepal Cat., II, p. 69; the text itself gives the figure 8000 for the Kāmarūpi part). Cf. also BAGCHI, Studies, p. 105f., for a discussion of the first pages of the text.—The Piṅgalātānttra occurs as the 27th title in the list of the ATV.

^{60a} Cf. H. BRUNNER, Analyse du Kirāṇāgama, JA 253, 1965, p. 309-328, on p. 324f.

The Rudrayāmala is perhaps the most mysterious of all Yāmala. It is encountered everywhere, yet always vanishes after closer inspection. It is even uncertain if an original Rudrayāmala ever existed, despite the fact that the title figures in all old lists of Yāmala. More than fifty texts adorn themselves with this generic designation beside their own title (type: "text X from the Rudrayāmala")⁶¹, but a "Rudrayāmala" without more is not found or clearly apocryphal. The practice must have set in early; the first instance is perhaps furnished by the Parātrimśikā and its example was followed by the Vijnāna-bhairava which calls itself "Rudrayāmaliya". Other works joined these worthy predecessors, so that the Rudrayāmala developed into the foremost locus of ascription in Hindu Tantric literature.

The text which is most often credited with being the Rudrayāmala proper, the Uttaratantra, is certainly much later than the period in which the old Yāmala literature flourished⁶². Arguments for its lateness are: its preoccupation with the yogic *cakras* in a developed variety (26, 53f.) and with the three *bhāvas* or mental dispositions (1, 133f.; 1, 204f.; ch. II; chs. VI f.), topics scarcely noticed by the older Yāmala; the mentioning of Manasā (1, 98) and of Kālakūṭa (1, 105; Calcutta?); dependence on the Kulārṇava (e.g. in 1, 158f.); the occurrence of *mantras* of Kṛṣṇa, a feature which may point to neo-Vaiṣṇava influence; Kumārīpūjā (6, 80f.); use of the term *vāyavi* for the Kuṇḍalinī (15, 6 and elsewhere); enumeration of the five Makāras (17, 160); types of Haṭhayoga (*neti* etc.; chs. XXXIV f.; LIV)⁶³. In general, the Uttaratantra can be characterized as a typical Kaula text, presumably hailing from Bengal, a kind of handbook on individualistic *sādhana*, especially Kuṇḍalinīyoga. The subject is explained by Devī (Ānandabhairavi) to her husband, a situation which would be hardly thinkable in an early Yāmala text. The Sanskrit is somewhat peculiar, but by no means worse than in some other texts of its kind. On several places in the text, Stotras are interposed within the didactic mainstream; non-*śloka* metres often occur, especially in the latter part of the work. The first chapter contains a catalogue of Tantric deities (i.e. *mantras*) and general pronouncements on different topics with special emphasis on the three Bhāvas, the human situation (partly parallel to the first chapter of the Kulārṇava) and the exalted position of the guru. The latter subject is continued in chapter II, from where

⁶¹ There are, e.g., 51 ascriptions in the Jammu Cat., p. 234f.; 29 in the RASB Cat., Nos. 5862-5890. Among the texts which ascribe themselves to the RY are the Kālikāpurāṇa, Devīrahasya, Rasārṇavakalpa, Ayodhyāmāhātmya, Meghamālā, Sūryapaṭala, Śaṣṭhividyāpraśaṃsā (Ms. of A. D. 1359, see Nepal Cat., II, p. 23), etc. etc.

⁶² Ed. J. VIDYASAGAR and his sons, Calcutta 1937 (66 chs.); ed. from the Varendra Anusandhāna Samiti, Calcutta 1895 (Bengali char.). Acc. to BHARATI, Tantric Tradition, p. 307, there exists a commentary Saptadhātunirūpaṇa by BHAIKAVĀNANDA. For the Mss., cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 561f.; Orissa Cat., Suppl., No. 52; Nepal Cat., II, p. 126.

⁶³ Also PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 554; BAGCHI, in CHI, IV, p. 217, and GONDA, MRL, p. 208, are of opinion that the Uttaratantra is a relatively late text.

we quote a passage (2, 107f.) on the qualities which may be expected in a female *guru*:

“Righteous, and of good conduct she should be, devoted to her *guru*, in command of her senses; knowing the essential meaning of all *mantras*, of good character, prone to worship; provided with all required characteristics, good in recitation, of lotus-like eyes; in possession of jewels and ornaments . . . ; peaceful, of good family (or: belonging to the Kula circle), born of good family, moon-faced . . . ; guru-like in appearance, able to grant final release, an explainer of Śiva wisdom; (in short) fit to be a *guru*. A widow should be avoided.”

The description of preparatory ritual for initiation begins in chapter II and is continued in the next chapters. Chapter VII f. contains ritual duties specified for the three Bhāvas; the worship of young girls (associated with the “divine” disposition) receives special attention. From XII onwards, attention is directed more and more to the yogic Cakras (although XXI is on the “heroic” disposition), for the meditation on which a detailed and balanced system is worked out. Some of these Cakras are associated with the Vedas (chapter XV f.).

There is also an Anuttaratantra “from the Rudrayāmala”, a rare text of modest size⁶⁴, in which Śiva again plays his familiar role as speaker. The Sanskrit is awkward, but the text may contain some old material; thus, chapter VII deals with the division of mantras into five “currents” known from the early Śaivatantras.

Much need not be said on the other titles of Yāmala which have been transmitted. A Viṣṇuyāmala is quoted once in the Spandapradīpikā⁶⁵, but the few extant manuscripts which bear this title seem to be of specialized works of relatively recent date. The Grahayāmala, of which a score of manuscripts is known, is a monograph in 18 chapters on the worship of planets and relevant ritual.

We are far from possessing all early Hindu Tantric sources. Many texts may have disappeared without a trace; others are known only from quotations and references. A good number of scriptural authorities are brought to the fore in the Tantrāloka, so that their existence before A.D. 1000 is certain. At least those which seem to have been the most important (judging from the number of references) deserve mentioning on this place. The Ānandagahvara or Ānandaśāsana was considered by Abhinavagupta as authoritative especially on non-human existences due to the effects of *karman*⁶⁶; the Dikṣottara is quoted on details of initiatory rituals, i. a. (TĀ 24, 17f.) on a ceremony of offering the

⁶⁴ There are 900 *ślokas* and 77 folia in the Ms., RASB No. 5862. The numbering of the chapters is out of order. Ch. VII ends on fol. 26b, and no colophons to chapters are to be found before the last one which reads: “Here ends the fifth chapter in the Rudrayāmala”.

⁶⁵ LAS, p. 125. There are several quotations in later texts.—For Mss. called Viṣṇuyāmala, cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 600.

⁶⁶ TĀ 8, 40f.; 16, 65f.; 13, 354. There are other quotations of this text in the TĀ. For the exact text-places, see GNOLI, Luce, Appendice XIII (also for the texts discussed next). The list of quotations in the LAS is far from exhaustive.

senses to the five deities Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudra, Īśvara and Sadāśiva; quotations from the Haiḍara(tantra?) are restricted to ch. 28 of the TĀ; the Nisācāra or Nisāṭana is often referred to, i.e. on the three bases of wisdom and on the nature of doubt (TĀ 13,197; translated from the quotation in Jayaratha's comm.):

"This wisdom has three bases: the Self, the Scripture and the Guru's mouth. Obtaining it from the Self (*svopalabdhiḥ*) is foremost; it enables one to cross the ocean of deliberation. From deliberation arises doubt; this phenomenon of doubt is concretely manifested in bondage (*bandharūpiṇi*); no other form of bondage is known except doubt born from deliberation; for one who is haunted by the torment of deliberation, the supreme destination is impossible to reach. Doubt is taught to be fivefold: doubt about (the effectivity of) *mantras*, about oneself (the Self?), about ritual objects, about the elements (? *bhūta*), and about divine work (*divyakarma*). The last kind is the most serious. (Besides these five,) doubt about the *tattvas* (categories of existence?) is taught to be the most serious. I shall explain this sixfold (doubt), in order that Thou shalt obtain release".

The same subject is treated in other quotations from the Nisācāra (e.g., TĀ 14,43f.), and the Sarvavira(tantra); the latter authority is quoted elsewhere (TĀ 4,54) on methods for obtaining superior insight.

Of many texts, the adherence to the Kula standpoint appears from the fact that they have been referred to in the twenty-ninth chapter of the Tantrāloka which deals with secret (Kula) ritual. An important place among these is held by the Triśirobhairava (or Triśiraḥśāstra, Triśiromata etc.) with thirty-three quotations and references in the Tantrāloka and its commentary (three of them in ch. 29). It had the outward form of a questioning of Śiva by Devī. The quotations are from a variety of subjects a description of which would go too far on this place; especially interesting are passages on *ānavopāya* (yogic concentration on the way to divinity within the own body; in TĀ, ch. 5, e.g. vss. 86–94), and on the *triśūlamanḍala* (TĀ, ch. 31, 101–131). Other important sources for Abhinavagupta were the Yogasaṃcāra (TĀ 29,82f.: kinds of *japa*; 29,150f.: *bhagamandala*; etc.); the Virāvali(kula or -bhairava); the Ratnamālā (Jayaratha: Kularatnamālā) which serves as an authority for the ritual of *pa-vitrārohaṇa* (28,112f.) and on Kaula forms of initiation (29,192f. and elsewhere); the Mādhavakula (important quotation on Kula form of worship, TĀ 29,55f.; etc.); the Ūrmimahākula or Ūrmiśāstra (long quotation by Jayaratha on TĀ 28,53 on special kinds of *pūjā*); and the Gamaśāstra (e.g., TĀ 16,285f. on the identity of *mantra* with pure consciousness). The Kulakriḍāvatāra is lengthily quoted by Jayaratha on the legendary Kula tradition (on TĀ 29,39)⁶⁷.

All of these can probably be characterized as early Kula sources. Besides, the expounders of the Krama method were also active as writers⁶⁸. We find

⁶⁷ Several other titles are omitted here; we refer again to GNOLI, Luce, Appendice XIII.

⁶⁸ For the literary production of the Krama school, cf. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 467–488; RASTOGI, Krama Tantricism, p. 82–248, who removes a few texts from the list but adds many others.

references to the anonymous works *Kramasadbhāva*, *Kramasiddhi* and *Kramodaya*; they are quoted several times in *Maheśvarānanda's Mahārthamañjarī*, itself an exposition of this system⁶⁹. In his early period, *Abhinavagupta* wrote the *Kramakeli* as a commentary on a *Kramastotra*. The *Mahānayaprakāśa* has been preserved in a Sanskrit and a Kashmiri version (the latter was written by *Śitikanṭha* at the end of the twelfth century)⁷⁰. The often quoted *Cidgaganacandrikā* by *Śrīvatsa* is a commentary on a *Kramastotra* ascribed to *Siddhanātha*⁷¹. The exact position of the *Krama* system within the Kashmir tradition and its relation to *Kula* are, however, difficult to assess.⁷²

One of the early varieties of the *Kula* system must have been the *Yoginīkaula* school which was allegedly founded by *Matsyendranātha*; its early development is said to have taken place in *Assam* and *Bengal*⁷³. The *Tantrāloka* (7, 40f.) once refers to a text of that title (also *Jayaratha* on *Ā 7, 5f.*), but that text differed from the main work ascribed to *Matsyendranātha*: the *Kaulajñānanirṇaya* or *Mahākaulajñānavinirṇaya* (KJN). This is a text of about 700 stanzas, incompletely transmitted (of the first chapter only two stanzas are left) in a Nepalese Ms. of perhaps the middle of the eleventh century⁷⁴. It is difficult to judge the value of the tradition which ascribes the work to *Matsyendranātha* and its origin to *Candradvīpa* (col. to ch. 8; does *Candradvīpa* refer to a region in Eastern Bengal?); the most probable hypothesis is that we have here a collection of early doctrinal and ritual viewpoints of that branch of *Kaula* tradition which associated its origin with the legendary yogin and wonderworker of that name. In the 24 chapters of the text, several subjects which are of importance for the *Kaula* adept have been succinctly treated. The language is incorrect and the exposition is often unclear; the matter is presented by *Bhairava* to *Devī* in such a way that non-initiates who lack the assistance of a guru are left in

⁶⁹ For this text, see GONDA, MRL, p. 286.

⁷⁰ This date is proposed by PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta*, p. 480; cf. RASTOGI, *Krama Tantricism*, p. 479f. GRIERSON dates the text in the fifteenth cent.: G. GRIERSON, *The Language of the Mahānayaprakāśa. An Examination of Kāshmiri as Written in the Fifteenth Century*, Calcutta 1929, in: *Memoirs of the As. Soc. of Bengal*, XI, p. 73-130.—The Skt. text quoted in the MM was edited by K. SĀMBAŚIVA ŚĀSTRĪ, *Trivandrum* 1937 (TrSS, No. 130), acc. to RASTOGI, o.c., p. 257.

⁷¹ RASTOGI, *Krama Tantricism*, p. 180; 195f.; 257; ed. TRIVIKRAMA TĪRTHA, *Calcutta* 1936 (*Tantrik Texts*, XX).

⁷² For the meanings of "Krama", cf. RASTOGI, *Krama Tantricism*, p. 10f.; for some characteristics of the system; the same, p. 45f. RASTOGI seems to lay too much emphasis on the *Krama* school as a separate entity. We are inclined to think of a method of initiation or self-realization which could be followed by adherents of the *Kula* viewpoint.

⁷³ BAGCHI, ed. KJN, Introduction.

⁷⁴ Ed. P. CH. BAGCHI, "Kaulajñānanirṇaya and Some Minor Texts of the School of Matsyendranātha", *Calcutta* 1934 (*Calc. Skt. Ser.*, III). On the date of the Ms., see BAGCHI's *Introd.*, p. 1f.; the Ms. was characterized by H. P. SASTRI as written in Transitional Gupta script and placed by him in the middle of the ninth cent.; cf. *Nepal Cat.*, II, p. XVIIIff.; 32f.

the dark. As may be expected from a text associated with Matsyendra, the exposition of yoga is a central theme. The yogic adept should realize the cosmic processes of creation and dissolution within his own psycho-physical system. Many technical expressions are left unexplained or are paraphrased by others of the same kind. After short expositions of the internal, yogic processes of creation (chapter I, lost) and dissolution, the internal Liṅga is treated in chapter III as the means by which existence “goes towards its dissolution” (*layaṃ gacchati*, an explicative “etymology”). The Liṅga itself consists of a series of lotus-like *maṇḍalas* of different numbers of petals. The supreme deity resides in the highest or *nirañjana* lotus. The worship of external Liṅgas is characteristic of the uninitiated (*paśu*) who are unqualified for the realization of the truths the Kula. The internal Liṅga is worshipped with mental flowers: non-violence, mastery of the senses, and so on.

“This is the description of the Liṅga of the body, a Kula teaching; he whose concentration (*vāsanā*) is on the body has a share in the Kula tradition; he whose concentration is on the outside world is an animal-like being coloured by passion”. (KJN 3, 29f.)

In the next chapters, attention is focused on the exercise of supernatural powers, especially the conquering of death (chapters V, VI, XVI f.; VII); on the nature of the soul (VI); the different classes of Śaktis and their worship (VIII); worship of Gurus and Yoginīs (IX); meditation on *bījas* and their results (X); ritual food (*caru*) prepared from the five purifying objects in their Kula variety (XI); and some minor subjects relating to ritual behaviour (XII and XIII). The relatively long fourteenth chapter gives a survey of psycho-physical practices of Kaula yoga. The description, important in principle, is hampered by the author’s habit to content himself with casual allusions; the resulting *siddhis* obtain most of the space.

“Now I shall proclaim a supreme and most exalted secret . . . being in the series of letters which [is located at the height of] the forehead, in the middle of the fontanelle—the heroic adept should practise⁷⁵ constant experimentation and avoid the vulgar way of life; he becomes an agent of creation and destruction . . . free from old age and death, and the eternal favourite of the Yoginīs . . .” (KJN 14, 71 f.).

The same approach is continued in the remaining part of the work, which i. a. deals with *pīṭhas* (esp. Candradvīpa); Bhairava’s incarnation as a fisherman in which quality he regained the Kula lore from within a fish which had swallowed it on a former occasion (16, 27 f.); Kaula rituals and yogic exercises; incarnations of Yoginīs and the behaviour of a Kaula towards them (XXIII). In short, this mysterious treatise is characterized by the combination of a decidedly Kaula standpoint with an emphasis on practices associated with the *siddhas*: the development of yogic methods of countering the symptoms of old age, disease and death.

⁷⁵ Text: *abhyāsāt*, read as *abhyaset*.

A short text from the same milieu is the Akulavīratāntra, a collection of statements on Tantric yoga; it is also ascribed to Matsyendranātha (called Mīnanātha in one of the two Mss.)⁷⁶. One Ms., of 91 ślokas, bears the colophon: “thus, in the revelation of the great and revered Mīnanātha, the first chapter called Akulavīra”. The second Ms. (142 ślokas) refers to the completion of the Akulavīra “obtained by the grace of the Yoginīs in the location of Kāmarūpa revealed by the reverend Macchendra”. Even shorter is the Kulānandatāntra which deals with the obtainment of *siddhis* by meditation on the internal power centres⁷⁷. A similar, but considerably longer, text is the Akulāgamatāntra alias Yogasārasamuccaya⁷⁸.

A characteristic of the Kula tradition is the division of its deities and *mantras* according to Āmnāyas (see above, p. 17), usually oriented towards the directions of the compass. Within this system, the Śākta school which grew around the worship and symbolism of the Great Goddess in her manifestation as Kubjikā “the Curved One”⁷⁹ possesses a clear identity; it regularly occupies the Western position as the Paścimāmnāya. The sect dates back to the eleventh century at the latest, and very probably existed already in a somewhat earlier period. In the course of the centuries it produced a considerable literature, although it seems to be non-existent at present⁸⁰. In its speculation, the school shows close affinities with the Kashmir tradition; the manuscripts of its texts were usually recovered from Nepal. The supposition is therefore warranted that the sect was originally located in the Himalayan region: Kashmir, Nepal, or somewhere between⁸¹. Its most important literary product is the Kubjikāmātātāntra which exists in several versions. The basic version (KMT) seems to be that of about 3500 ślokas; it exists in several manuscripts and has been considered one of the oldest Tantras⁸². In the colophons, it is styled the Kulālikāmnāya “Tradition of the Potters”. Its linguistic position is not far removed from that of the Yāmālas; the language is incorrect, the style uncultured. The

⁷⁶ Ed. P.C. BAGCHI in his edition of the KJN (above, n. 74), on p. 84–106. The second Ms. is estimated by BAGCHI on palaeographical grounds at about the thirteenth cent.

⁷⁷ Ed. BAGCHI in the ed. of the KJN, p. 107–113. The single Ms. dates from the fourteenth or fifteenth cent. (BAGCHI, o.c., p. 2).

⁷⁸ There are five Mss. according to the NCC, I, p. 8, which does not mention a Nepalese Ms. referred to by BAGCHI, *Introd. to the KJN*, p. 61. None of the Mss. seems to be older than the seventeenth cent.

⁷⁹ Not: “the Humpbacked One” (a point made by J.A. SCHOTERMAN in a lecture before the Dutch Oriental Society at Leiden in 1977).

⁸⁰ Cf. REGMI, *Medieval Nepal*, II, p. 585f.

⁸¹ Cf. VAN KOOY, *Guptahandschrift*, p. 888. Some details point to Koñkaṇa as the place of origin, at least of one or more of its earliest gurus: SCHOTERMAN, *Remarks*, p. 934.

⁸² FARQUHAR, *RLI*, p. 199; 354, following H.P. SASTRI. This dating rests on false grounds; cf. VAN KOOY, *Guptahandschrift*.

manuscript tradition abounds in deviating readings and a critical edition is absolutely necessary before reliable philological judgments can be given⁸³.

The first two chapters of the Kubjikāmatatantra and the beginning of the third chapter contain a legendary setting: the origin of the Mālinī, a particular secret "female" sequence of the letters of the alphabet and a "womb" of *mantras*, conceived of as a re-creation of Devī out of Śiva's body. The god reveals himself to her as the usual "male" arrangement of letters (*śabdarāśi*); a quarrel arises about their relative primacy⁸⁴:

"In this way, Rudra's Śakti was capably created by the Self-born One by means of the letter-syllables which originated from His own body; she is characterized by the *na* as first letter-syllable and the *pha* as the last one. Being born, the Goddess, made up from all syllables, provided with all her characteristics, of great fiery energy, stood before the Fearsome One. Mālinī spoke: 'Who are you?' 'I am the God'. 'For what did you come here?' 'O Goddess, don't you know me? By whom have you been created? You have been engendered by me, Dear One, in order to incarnate Myself in a playful creative activity'. 'By whom have *you* been created? Tell me, O Fearsome One'. 'I am the series of letter-syllables, my dear, Self-born, the Lord of the world; you have been begotten by Me by means of the basic syllables born from My body. You, Rudra's Śakti, are therefore called "Row of Heroes" (*virāvali*)'. Mālinī, enraged, spoke to him: 'Am I begotten by means of letter-syllables born from your own body? Here, take your letters back!' and, stretching out the row of letters . . . (?) she assumed her original form of basic syllables and went asleep in her eternal coiled shape (*amṛtakunḍalī*). The Lord of Gods was perplexed in mind: 'Where have all the letters gone to?' . . ."

After this, Mālinī manifests herself in the iconographical form of Kubjikā (chapter II; no clear description is given); she visits a number of Pīṭhas all over India and establishes her worship on these places. The text soon turns to other matters, in the first place to a discourse on the qualities of the guru (chapter III). More or less technical aspects of the *mantra* lore of the sect follow in the next chapters: the Gahvaramālinī (secret geometrical arrangement of the Mālinī); the method of combining Mālinī and Śabdarāśi in the Umāmāheśvara-cakra⁸⁵; regulations for *japa*, etc. A discussion of the most important *mudrās* follows in chapter VI (st. 26f.) which also contains some remarks on the nature of the Śakti. From the seventh chapter onwards, the *mantras* and manifestations of Kubjikā are the main topic. The main *mantra* (called Samayamantra; it consists of 32 syllables⁸⁶) possesses six "limbs" (*aṅga*); much attention is paid to their presiding deities, the six Dūtis. The god of the third Aṅga, the Top-

⁸³ A critical edition by J. A. SCHOTERMAN based on about twenty Mss. is in course of preparation. For some Mss., see Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXVIII, 7f., 11, 34, 54f., 98f.

⁸⁴ KMT 1, 70–77; fol. 4a in the Ms. RASB No. 4733, from where the quoted fragments have been translated.

⁸⁵ This was taken over (slovenly) in AgPur 146. On the Gahvaramālinī, see SCHOTERMAN, Remarks, p. 933.

⁸⁶ The *mantra* runs as follows: *Namo bhagavati śrīKubjikāyai hrām hrīm hrom naṇaṇaname aghoramukhi cām cīm kiṇikiṇi vice*. It is given in a backward sequence of the syllables.

knot (*śikhā*), happens to be Svacchanda, a figure well-known as one of the eight Bhairavas; his *mantra* is called Aghora. Svacchanda is described in the following manner (KMT 8, 17f., fol. 36a):

“O Goddess, one should first meditate on a corpse as the origin of all origins, a great yogin, of great accomplishment, the Lord who bears the whole world, provided with the virtue of omniscience; a lotus arises on him; on its pericarp one should understand Ananta to be situated, glowing, blazing forth in great overwhelming power; one should meditate on [Svacchanda as] the Śiva of the Top-knot, sitting above him on a [lotus-] seat with eight petals, surrounded by thirty-two rays, adorned with various ornaments, of various colours, with ten arms, terror-inspiring, with four faces, passionate. One should then meditate on the Goddess, of dark colour, bearing all *varṇas* . . .”

The text establishes (in chapter Xf.) connections of the Six Limbs with other sextuples such as the “Six Ways”⁸⁷ and the sixfold “course of dissolution” which is identical with the six titular additions to the names of the six sons of Macchanda in the earliest Kula tradition⁸⁸. The “six feet” are identical with the six internal Cakras (chs. XI–XIV, 6). These speculations are followed by an elaborate treatment (in chapters XIV–XIX) of a series of four meditative planes: “massiveness” (*piṇḍa*), “position” (*pada*), “form” (*rūpa*) and “superior-to-form” (*rūpātita*). They are identified with the four main Pīṭhas of the Goddess: Oḍḍiyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇagiri and Kāmarūpa⁸⁹, and located in four vertically arranged power centres of the yogic body (14, 10). Their discussion involves the enumeration of a great number of deities arranged into series of varying numbers. Many new names and equations are added in the last part of the work which deals with “continents” (chapter XXf.) and “sacred places” (ch. 22; 24 Pīṭhas) in the adept’s body. The last chapters (XXIII–XXV) are devoted to several minor subjects, among them insight into the nature of time (23, 1f.); yogic methods connected with departure from life (*utkrānti*; 23, 78f.); the secret deities of the alphabet (24, 1f.); some particulars about worship of groups of deities (24, 57f.) including a series of eight called Kulāṣṭaka (the “Seven Mothers” with Mahālakṣmī) surrounding Kubjīśāna “Kubjikā’s Lord” in the Centre (24, 68f.); *pavitṛārohaṇa* (24, 129f.); the eight Kṣetras or mystical resorts of the yogin (25, 45f.); secret meaning of the Goddess’ attributes (25, 118f.).

This rapid survey cannot do justice to the overwhelming number of facts, descriptions and opinions which are contained in the Kubjikāmatatantra. Many particulars remain completely obscure; other subjects which must have been of primary importance (worship, initiation) have only summarily been treated.

⁸⁷ As Ṣaḍadhvan, this series is well-known from the Svacchanda-tantra and Trika speculation. See PADOUX, Recherches, p. 261f. The term applied in the KMT is Ṣaḍadhvara.

⁸⁸ *ānanda*, *āvali*, *prabhu*, *yogin*, *atita* and *pāda*. They are given as the six *ovallīs* in TĀ 29, 35f. (with *bodhi* instead of *atita*); GNOLI, Luce, p. 684.

⁸⁹ SIRCAR, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 11f.; GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 38.

These handicaps are partly met with in the "version of six thousand", the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā*⁹⁰. While mainly following the order of subjects found in the KMT, it expatiates on matters which were only vaguely alluded to in that text⁹¹. Special attention is paid to lists of former teachers (chs. 42–44); to geometrical arrangements of the alphabet (especially the *Gahvaramālini*); to details of worship, and so on. These elaborations point to a secondary character of the *Ṣaṭsāhasrasaṃhitā* in relation to the KMT.

There exists a closely related Tantra of the Kubjikā school called *Kāḍibheda* or *Kāḍiprakaraṇa* in 27 *paṭalas*⁹²; its exact relation to the former versions and to the *Manthānabhairavatantra* is in need of further elucidation.

The *Manthānabhairavatantra* (MBT) also ascribes itself to the Kāḍi variety in its colophons; it further associates itself with the *Ādyāvātāra* "Descent of the Primeval Goddess" and the *Manthānabhairavayajña* "Sacrifice to (by?) the Bhairava *Manthāna*", i.e. the revelation given in the intervals of sessions of that sacrifice. It is said to contain an epitome of 24.000 *ślokas* made from an original body of 70 million (or of a billion according to another manuscript). In reality, the text contains somewhat less than 5000 *ślokas*, at least in one of the manuscripts⁹³. All Mss. seem, however, to be incomplete; the text must have been of respectable size and should be dated before 1200 A.D. The main concern of its preserved part⁹⁴ is with *mantras* and ceremonies of various manifestations of the Goddess, especially *Tvaritā* (ch. LXXVI) and, interestingly enough, *Tripurā* (ch. LXXVII f.). These are forms of Kubjikā (ch. LXXXIII, fol. 42b). We also find descriptions of special rituals such as *pavitrārohaṇa* (ch. LXXIX); the *vidyāvratā* and *āyudhacaryā* (ch. LXXX); seasonal rites (LXXXI–LXXXVII), with special emphasis on the *Śivarātri* (LXXXV f.). After a description of a *Cakra* called *Mahābhairava* (LXXXVIII) and the installation of the *Liṅga* in a temple (LXXXIX), attention shifts to esoteric subjects: meditation on the internal *Śakti*, the Supreme Being, the road to final release. The last chapter, partly difficult to read in the manuscript, seems to concentrate on the praise of Kubjikā.

⁹⁰ Mss. of this version are rare; cf. Nepal Cat., I, p. 53 f. The so-called "Gupta Ms." of the KMT preserved at Calcutta (RASB No. 5804) contains fragments of this version. See above, p. 21. — A translation of the first chapters of this work is being prepared by J. A. SCHOTERMAN.

⁹¹ SCHOTERMAN, Remarks, p. 932.

⁹² This version has been edited under the title *Gorakṣasaṃhitā* by JANĀRDANA PĀNDEYA, Varanasi 1976 (SBG, 110).

⁹³ Ms. No. (2) 279 Nepal, cf. Nepal Cat., I, p. 224 f. One other Ms. is described in the Nepal Cat., I, p. 22. A third Ms. in Bengali script (RASB No. 5819; Cat., p. 23) contains only chs. 76–89 but is still rather voluminous (199 fol.). It is a recent copy from a Nepalese Ms. of A.D. 1641. Not described in the Catalogues is the Ms. 1/1151/134 from the Natl. Archives at Kathmandu, dated N.S. 339 = A.D. 1219. It contains chs. 74–93 in 222 folia.

⁹⁴ We follow the oldest Ms. of the MBT which dates from A.D. 1219. See the preceding note.

The first chapter preserved (LXXIV) contains an interesting and detailed exposition of the legendary guru tradition (*gurupaṅkti*) of the school; at its head there are sixteen Siddhas (or Nāthas) and a secondary group of nine Nāthas. This circumstance (also found in other texts of the Kubjikā school) proves a close association (at least for the original period) of the Kubjikā school with the Siddha tradition of the early Kaulas exemplified in, for instance, the Kaulajñānanirṇaya. The MBT gives information on the names of the Siddhas and Nāthas (and their fathers' names), places of residence, and exact position in the liturgical calendar (1, 108f.); a following passage (1, 148f.) records their secret and ritual names. All this is written in a kind of Sanskrit which is certainly not better than that of the KMT.

Another Tantra which can be associated with the Kubjikā school is the Pārameśvarīmata, but of this text also the manuscript tradition is incomplete and complicated. The largest fragment, which contains paṭalas XXIV to LVI, in a majority of colophons ascribes itself to a Kubjikāmata; it is a fact that the text is closely allied to the Kubjikāmata-tantra with which it often agrees in subject-matter⁹⁵. Thus, the series of male deities of the alphabet and their locations on the body given in Pārameśvarīmata ch. XXV agree with KMT XXIV. Usually, however, the text expatiates on subjects which were only vaguely alluded to in the KMT. It is even not impossible that it was meant to be a continuation to the KMT; the fact that two of its manuscripts begin with ch. XXIV might point to this (it would imply that chs. XXIV and XXV in the KMT are later additions)⁹⁶. But in the present state of research the matter remains unclear; the problem of the early tradition of the Kubjikā school calls for a special investigation.

To the Kubjikā school also belong the Matasāra⁹⁷ which seems to concentrate on the worship of a special form of Kubjikā called Bālakubjikā; the Ratna-

⁹⁵ Ms. III.271 from the Nepal Cat., II, p. 152 (title given there as Kubjikāmata). Its chs. XXIV–XXXIX are identical with the Ms. No. III.364 G called Pārameśvarīmata (Nepal Cat., II, p. 46f., entitled Pārameśvaramata) the date of which was estimated by H. P. SASTRI to be the eleventh or twelfth cent. Another Ms. (Nepal Cat., II, p. 115) contains part of the same text, followed by a fragment on Tripurā (36 fol.) which constituted the last part of the Merubhaṭṭāraka (thus the col.). A Ms. preserved in the Natl. Archives at Kathmandu (No. 1–1647/Śaivatantra 111) under the title Pārameśvarīmata is composite and in reality contains an exposition on the worship of Trotalā followed by fragments from the “Kubjikāmata”, and at the end a fragment from the Piṅgalāmata. Another Ms. entitled Pārameśvaramata is preserved in Cambridge and would according to its colophon have been written in A.D. 859 (BENDALL; cf. Nepal Cat., II, p. XXI).

⁹⁶ The Ms. mentioned in the Nepal Cat., II, on p. 115, is said to end with the col. of ch. XVII, but the title of this ch. (Aghorānirṇaya) agrees with that of ch. XL in the other Mss., so that the chs. XXIVf. have very probably been renumbered as If.

⁹⁷ Cf. Nepal Cat., I, p. 222; II, p. 74; 154f. A Śrīmatasāraṭippanam is preserved in the RASB (Cat., p. 4).

pañcakāvatāra which gives a systematic exposition of five important concepts of the Kula tradition, involving detailed treatment of classes of deities and other doctrines of the school, usually arranged according to numbers (groups of six, of three, etc.)⁹⁸; and a Kularatnoddyota⁹⁹ which according to its colophon belongs to the “glorious Kubjikāmata of 500 million [*ślokas*], emitted by Ādinātha” (another indication of a connection of the school with Nātha Yogins). The Ciñcinīmata was also devoted to Kubjikā, as appears from the contents of the Ciñcinīmatasārasamuccaya¹⁰⁰. A Kubjikātantra of nine *paṭalas* preserved at Calcutta is a relatively late text which probably hails from Bengal¹⁰¹.

⁹⁸ Ms. of 1620 A.D.: Nepal Cat., I, p. LXX, 238f. There are 11 chapters and about 850 *ślokas*.

⁹⁹ Ms. in Oxford, Bodleian Libr., Chandra Shamsher Coll. C 348.

¹⁰⁰ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXI, 173f. The text is characterized there as “obscure, ungrammatical and unintelligible”.

¹⁰¹ RASB No. 5806. Cf. also KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 134.—The title Kubjikātantra occurs in the ATV list as No. 58.

CHAPTER III

TANTRAS OF THE ŚRĪKULA

In a description of the literature of the Śākta denomination, the group of Tantras which deals with the worship of Tripurasundarī, the most important Tantric form of Śrī/Lakṣmī, naturally occupies a well-defined position and comes in early. This is not due to its being chronologically the first (the Tripurā tradition is held to be a secondary variety of the Kaula school¹), but because the system is conspicuous by the literary standard of at least part of its texts, and by the mere coherence and elaboration of its doctrine. Tripurasundarī is the foremost benign, beautiful and youthful, yet motherly manifestation of the Supreme Śakti. Her *sampradāya* (sometimes called *saubhāgyasampradāya* “tradition of sweet happiness”), although presumably not the oldest, seems to have been systematized at a relatively early date. Its formulations are characterized by a high degree of technicality cultivated in order to serve an intellectualistic desire for subtle symbolism. It is clear that the initiates should develop also a capacity for sustained creative meditation.

The central position within the system is occupied by the twofold doctrine of the Śrīcakra and the Śrīvidyā. The Śrīcakra, one of the most famous visual features of Tantrism, is an intricate *yantra* which basically consists of nine mutually intersecting triangles. Four of them point upwards, representing the male principle; the other five, pointing downwards being “female”. The triangles are surrounded by two sets of stylized lotus petals (respectively eight and sixteen in number) alternating with three circles; the whole being again surrounded by three rectangles each provided with four gates². A great number of divinities symbolizing cosmic processes is localized within the *cakra* which is thus made into a cosmogram covering space and time together. It may be

¹ V. V. DWIVĒDA, Skt. introduction (*anuprāstāvīkam*) to G. KAVIRAJ's second edition of the YH, 1963, p. 6.

² There is some basic similarity between the outer parts of the *cakra* and ancient canons of town planning which in some varieties (e.g. the Sarvatobhadra) prescribed four gates oriented to the main directions. The three circles might correspond to the traditional three moats, but their position within the outer square is against this. See D. N. SHUKLA, Hindu Science of Architecture (*Vāstu-śāstra*, I), Chandigarh 1960, p. 288; 290; B. N. DUBE, Geographical Concepts in Ancient India, Varanasi 1967, p. 136f.

worshipped externally, for instance in a small piece of crystal, or internally as identical with the *sādhaka*'s yogic body.³

The Śrīvidyā consists of fifteen syllables, written in the Sanskrit alphabet but strung together in a sequence which is entirely meaningless according to the standards of ordinary language. It is divided into three sections called "peaks" (*kūṭa*): the Vāgbhava ("Born-from-Speech"), the Kāmarāja and the Śakti. The system operates by preference by means of a series of mystical equations which make for the identification of the Goddess, the Cakra, the (Śrī)-vidyā, the guru and the *sādhaka* (the practising "Ego").⁴ A further characteristic is the all-pervasive role of the mysticism of numbers, especially the "lunar" number sixteen⁵ with its variant fifteen, and the number nine⁶. A historical connection with the philosophical views of Kashmir Śaivism is clearly discernible: many terms current in that tradition (for instance: *prakāśa* and *vimarśa*; *praspaṇḍasamvid*, YH 1, 10) are in vogue here also. The intellectualistic character of the Śrīvidyā tradition appears clearly from its basic texts. These have been written in a generally faultless Sanskrit characterized by a symbol-ridden style, sometimes purposely dark or ambiguous; they presuppose commentarial elucidation (or exegesis by word of mouth) almost throughout. Among this literature, there are not many "original Tantras"⁷, but the system has remained greatly in vogue until the present time. Its theoreticians seem to have often belonged to the Śāṅkara-sampradāya (the chief body of Śaiva yogins allegedly founded by the philosopher Śāṅkara in the beginning of the ninth cent. A.D.)⁸.

The first *tantra* which should be mentioned in connection with the Śrīvidyā school is the Vāmakeśvaratantra. In practice, this is a ghost title which is often used as a marker for two original and in literary respect meritorious works: the Nityāṣoḍaśikārnava "Ocean of the tradition of the sixteen Nityā goddesses" and the Yoginihṛdaya "Secret of the Yoginīs". The Nityāṣoḍaśikārnava

³ For a discussion of the Śrīcakra, see RAO, Iconography, I, 130f.; POTT, Yoga en Yantra, p. 43f.—Of the many illustrations, we mention those in MOOKERJEE, Tantra Art, plates 7 and 52 (description on p. 80); RAWSON, Art of Tantra, plate 65; WOODROFFE, TT and KKV, beginning.

⁴ LSN, 6f.; according to YH 2, 51f. and VVR 102, this is the *kaulikārtha* of the Śrīvidyā.—On the Lalitāśahasranāma (LSN), cf. GONDA, MRL, p. 270.

⁵ J. GONDA, The Number Sixteen, in J. GONDA, Change and Continuity in Indian Thought, The Hague 1965, p. 115–130.

⁶ The Cakra is described in YH 1, 13; 1, 72.

⁷ The TT (1, 2) maintains that there were originally nine Nityātantras belonging to the school, but gives no names. The list furnished by the commentary Manoramā on this place is not above suspicion; cf. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 574.

⁸ The names of many teachers of the Saubhāgyasampradāya (as well as of some other Tantric schools, for that matter) end on *-ānandanātha*, those of some other Kaula teachers on *-nātha*: V. V. DWIVEDA, Skt. introduction to G. Kaviraj's edition of the YH, p. 6.

(NSA)⁹, also called Catuḥśatī because it consists of four hundred *ślokas*, gives, in five chapters of very unequal length, a succinct exposition of the nature, symbolism and application of the Śrīcakra and the Śrīvidyā. Although the text is introduced by a prooemium (a characteristic feature of “secondary” Tantric texts) which renders homage to Tripurā especially in her Mātrkā (“Mother-of-Speech”) aspect, it should be considered a relatively old piece of work because it has been commented upon by the Kashmirian Jayaratha who has been placed about 1200 A.D.¹⁰, and by Śivānanda of Kerala who seems to have flourished in the latter part of the thirteenth cent.¹¹ It is even reported by Jayaratha that the first commentary on the NSA had been written by Īśvaraśiva, a ninth-century author of Kashmir¹². On the other hand, the text does not seem to have been directly referred to by Abhinavagupta (about 1000 A.D.) who usually does not hesitate to mention his sources¹³.

The text of the NSA itself is presented in the usual form of an interview of Śiva by the Goddess (Devī). The latter begins by summing up a series of the sixty-four Tantras in which the secret *mantras* have formerly been proclaimed to her. Only the (*mantras* of) the sixteen Nityās, she states, have not yet been explained. She wants to be informed about their names, their worship in a geometrical figure (*cakrapūjā*) and the names, *mantras* and *mudrās* (handposes) of accompanying deities. In his answer, Īśvara (Śiva) emphasizes that this doctrine has been kept secret by him ever before. Then he gives the names of the Nityās (deities of the syllables of the Śrīvidyā), who in the sequel of the text play no role of importance, and proceeds with a technical description of the construction of the Śrīcakra interrupted by a glowing eulogy on the *cakra* and its effectivity (1, 43–58). The rest of the first chapter is occupied by a description of minor deities of the *cakra* (a.o. those of the eight *vargas* or groups of letters of the alphabet which are divided over the figure) and of internal worship in-

⁹ NSA, ed. VRAJAVALLABHA DWIVEDA, Varanasi 1968 (*Yogatantragranthamālā*, 1). This excellent edition is preceded by a masterful introduction in Sanskrit which offers a succinct survey of the whole Tantric tradition. The text is accompanied by the commentaries Rjuvimarśini by ŚIVĀNANDA and Artharatnāvali by VIDYĀNANDA.—Other eds. by K. S. ĀGĀṢE, Poona 1908 (ASS, 56) with comm. Setubandha by BHĀSKARARĀYA, re-ed. 1970 by K. V. ABHYANKAR; and by M. K. ŚĀSTRĪ, Srinagar (KSTS, 66) under the title Vāmakeśvarīmata, with the comm. Vivaraṇa by JAYARATHA.

¹⁰ PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 262.

¹¹ ŚIVĀNANDA was the grand-teacher of MAHEŚVARĀNANDA, author of the Mahārthamañjarī (cf. GONDA, MRL, p. 286), as the latter himself repeatedly confirms; cf. V. V. DWIVEDA, Introd. to the Mahārthamañjarī, Varanasi 1972, p. 5; the same, introd. to the NSA, p. 17f.—MAHEŚVARĀNANDA, is, however, sometimes dated earlier (twelfth cent.: L. SILBURN, Introduction to her ed. of the Mahārthamañjarī, p. 9).

¹² NSA, ed. M. K. ŚĀSTRĪ, p. 47.

¹³ He does mention a Nityāntatra in TĀ 28, 123, but this must be another text or tradition.

cluding a lengthy description of the meditation on the image form of the Goddess (vss. 130–150).

The second chapter diligently expounds the supernatural powers which the *sādhaka* may conquer with the help of this *cakra*; he can, for instance, even wear its design on his body as an amulet in order to be immune against inimical attacks. After succinctly dealing with some *mudrās* (ch. 3), the author in the fourth chapter describes a Śākta doctrine of cosmogony:

“Hear, O Goddess, the supernatural wisdom, the supreme, best of all wisdom, by merely concentrating on which one is not submerged in the ocean of existence.

Tripurā, the Supreme Śakti, the Primeval, born from the Primal Source, O Beloved, is the Mother from Whom the threefold world originates, in two forms, gross and subtle.

Her nature is to swallow the complete set of components of the universe; it is held that nobody is outside Her in Her developed manifestation.

The Supreme [Lord], when separated from His Śakti, is unable to perform anything, but He obtains power, O Supreme Lady, when He is united with Her . . .

[Her successive manifestations:] As Vāmā She is a flame; then, as Jyeṣṭhā, She assumes the form of a triangle; but as Raudrī, O Supreme Lady, She has the form of a devourer of the universe.

This Supreme Śakti, although unique . . . is threefold as Tripurā, assuming the forms of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Īśa¹⁴, in which forms Her nature is respectively the Śakti of Wisdom (*jñāna*), Activity (*kriyā*) and Desire (*icchā*) . . .

When She flashes forth from Her triangular base¹⁵, of twisted form, She breaks through the sphere of the Śiva sun [at the top of the head], and causing the lunar sphere [which is located above it] to overflow, She is refreshed with supreme bliss created by the stream of nectar emanating from there;

the Female of the Family¹⁶, leaving Her family, goes to the Supreme Lord Who is undefinable, uncharacterizable, free from the formations of manifested existence” (vss. 3–14, with interruptions).

The last stanza in cryptic language describes the supreme mystery of Tantric yoga. When explained on its face value, however, it expresses a most heinous sin:

“A woman of good family, leaving husband and family, goes to another man who is without good qualities or virtues and devoid of rank and shape”.

After stanza 17, the text pays attention to the Śrīvidyā, the worship of which it describes separately (*vyasta*, i.e. the worship of the individual *śaktis* of its three parts) and integrally (*samasta*) together with its effects.

¹⁴ The three constituent deities of the Trimūrti, with the respective functions of creating, maintaining and destroying the universe.

¹⁵ This base is located in the lowest mystic centre (*cakra*) in the yogic body, the Mūlādhāra. The stanzas describe the Śakti’s microcosmic activity, realized in Tantric yoga.

¹⁶ *Kula*-, i.e. (in this case) the manifested existence realized as a unity of knower, known and means of knowledge.

The Yoginīhṛdaya (YH)¹⁷ which, as stated above, is also known as the second part of the Vāmakeśvaratantra comprising its chapters six, seven and eight, takes up the thread where the NSA left it (Devī at the beginning asks for an explanation of those subjects which remained unclear in the Vāmakeśvaratantra) and goes on to describe the mysticism of the Śrīcakra and the *vidyā*. The text contains 376 *ślokas*; more than half of them is occupied by chapter III. Its language and style resemble that of the NSA, but it betrays an even greater tendency to cryptic modes of expression in which the author attains a remarkable ability. In the first chapter, called Cakrasaṅketa "Esoteric Meaning of the Cakra", Śiva describes the Śrīcakra in all its constituents as a primordial manifestation of the Goddess:

"When She, the Supreme Śakti, containing the All, of Her own will observes Her own creative glow (*sphurattā*), then the *cakra* originates" (9c-10b).

Starting from its centre, the text expounds the evolutionary symbolism of the *cakra* as a part of a description of its nine "wombs" or spaces (*navayoni*). It is impossible to understand the argumentation without constant consultation of the commentaries and even then a previous acquaintance with the subject is most desirable. A host of divine figures, often hypostases of evolutionary forces on the material and phonic levels, is located on strategical points of the *cakra*. Among them figure the *kalās* or "particles": *nivṛtti* etc., known from Kashmir Śaivism¹⁸; the prematerial stages of speech from *unmanī* "supramental" to *bindu* (1,26f.); the four *pīṭhas* or "seats", viz. Kāmarūpa etc., provided with *lingas* (1,41f.); Śiva as the Supreme Splendour (1,50f.); the Mudrāśaktis (1,57f.). The whole system should also be understood by the *sādhaka* as being present in his body (1,25; 2,8). The three Śaktis, Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā and Raudrī, mentioned in the NSA are now (1,36f.), preceded by Ambikā, connected with the four levels of speech¹⁹:

"When She, the Supreme Power of Particularization (*kalā*), observes Her own creative glow, She is said to be Supreme Speech obtaining the outward shape of Ambikā ("the Mother");
when She develops a desire to unfold the All which existed [up till then] in seminal shape, She is Vāmā because She vomits (*vam-*) the All, and She assumes the form of an elephant-hook²⁰;
then She is the Desire-power, materially existing as [the level of speech called] 'the Observing' (*paśyanti*);

¹⁷ Ed. G. KAVIRAJ, Varanasi 1963 (Sarasvatibhavana-granthamālā, 7) with the comms. Dīpikā by AMṚTĀNANDA (on him, see below, p. 152) and Setubandha by BHĀSKARARĀYA (see p. 169f.). Earlier ed. by the same scholar, with the comm. of AMṚTĀNANDA only: Benares 1923-24.—A commentary by KĀŚINĀTHA called Cakrasaṅketacandrikā seems to amount to an abridgment of the Dīpikā.

¹⁸ On these, see PADOUX, Recherches, p. 284f.—On *unmanī* (*unmanā*) etc., see the same, p. 83.

¹⁹ On the four levels, Parā etc., see PADOUX, Recherches, p. 141f.

²⁰ A symbol of supranormal attraction; here a symbol of creation effected by Desire.

then, as Jyeṣṭhā, She becomes the Wisdom-power, called the Middle [level of] speech; She has the form of a straight line, extending Her material manifestation in [the process of] maintenance of the All; in the stage of its destruction She assumes the form of a dot and by the process of recoiling (*pratyaṁvṛtti*) She becomes shaped like a triangle, glowing, as the Action-power, Raudrī, the Manifest [level of] speech, embodying the All”.

The chapter winds up with an enumeration of the nine sub-*cakras* of the Śrīcakra and their shapes. Despite its title (Mantrasaṁketa), the second chapter continues the subject of the first by enumerating the nine *vidyās* of the Śrīcakra and the assignment (*nyāsa*) of the nine sub-*cakras* and their deities in the nine *cakras* of the body (from the Mūlādhāra to the lunar *maṇḍala* in the Dvādaśānta located at some distance above the crown of the head).

The Mantrasaṁketa proper (2, 14f.) consists of the description of six “meanings” (*artha*) or secret identifications of the Śrīvidyā with several outside processes and entities. Thus the *bhāvārtha* reveals Brahman, which is nothing else than the mystic union of Śiva and Śakti, as present on various levels in the syllables of the Vidyā. In the Sampradāyārtha, commented upon in great detail by Amṛtānanda and Bhāskararāya,²¹ the Goddess in Her *mantra* form is identified with the universe. The Nigarbhartha is concerned with the identity of Śiva, the guru and the *sādhaka*’s self, while the Kaulikārtha, as we saw, mystically relates the *cakra*, the *vidyā*, the Goddess, the guru and the adept’s self. This latter meaning is realized especially in a successive identification of Devī in Her *vidyā* form with Gaṇeśa, the Nine Planets²², the twenty-seven Nakṣatras or resorts of the moon, the eight Yoginīs (presiding deities of the eight sections of the alphabet) and the twelve *rāśis* (signs of the zodiac). In the Sarvarahasyārtha and the Mahātattvārtha, one meditates respectively on the Kuṇḍalini’s ascent in the body as realized by the *vidyā*, and on the union with the Supreme Brahman.

The third chapter (Pūjāsaṁketa) contains more than half of the text. It describes the worship of the *cakra* form of the Goddess in three varieties: supreme (*parā*), secondary (*aparā*) and intermediate (*parāparā*). *Parā pūjā* stands for the realization of non-duality; the second variety consists of worship of the *cakra*; the third is accomplished by the (mental) offering of ingredients of worship into Pure Wisdom like that of ghee into the fire (Amṛtānanda). An important constituent of *cakrapūjā* is the famous *ṣoḍhānyāsa*, a sixfold external or internal assignment to the body of those forms of the Goddess which derive from the Kaulikārtha. The deities of the Śrīcakra and the Śrīvidyā are also assigned to the body by the worshipper before he presents his offering proper which may be mental as well as real. This involves a description of the secondary deities of the *cakra* including their symbolism. The concomitant recitation

²¹ See note 17 above.

²² These are the Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn, Rāhu and Ketu.

(*japa*) of the Śrīvidyā is meant to accompany a localization of the elements of the Śrīcakra in an ascending direction in three centres of the mystic body combined with a mental penetration into ever subtler recesses of the syllable OM. This is complicated further by the doctrine of the five psychic conditions (*avasthā*: waking etc., vs. 178f.), the seven points of transition (*viśuva*; breath etc.), and the three “voids” (*śūnya*). The last stanzas include a regulation on worship of the sixty-four Yoginīs (vs. 194) in the context of “conditioned worship” (*naimittikapūjā*) executed on special occasions or emergencies.

Both the NSA and the YH testify to a complete mastery of the subject which appears as a full-grown system. In an authoritative manner the author(s) present(s) a difficult procedure of internal realization of intricately symbolized truth to the later generations of practisers. The language is flawless; the style often dark and characterized by a prominence of technical terminology. There can be no doubt that here we have two of the most accomplished products of Hindu Tantric literature. It is clear that these texts are still within the learned tradition which produced the intellectual masterpieces of Kashmir Śaivism.

There was, however, still room for more detailed expositions of the Śrīvidyā system which would include additional elements of the *pūjā* and present a total survey of the Tantric tradition from the viewpoint of the school. This task was fulfilled by the author of the *Tantrarājatantra* (TT), a learned and methodically-minded man with a good experience in composing Sanskrit texts, who set himself to write a treatise of 3600 *ślokas* divided into thirty-six chapters of a hundred *ślokas* each²³. The name *Tantrarāja*, popularized by the edition in Avalon’s series (see n. 23), is, strictly speaking, not correct because the text introduces itself as the *Kādimatatānttra*, the “king of all Tantras” (*tantrarāja*; TT 1, 5f.). The name *Kādimata* refers to the doctrinal line of interpretation of the Śrīvidyā supported by the author. Surprisingly, the *Kādimata* is contrasted by him to the *Kālimata*; both traditions were, he says (1,5), described before, but it does not become clear where these opinions can be found and what they exactly amount to. That the text is considerably younger than the NSA and the YH is rendered probable by its much more numerous details and the new

²³ *Tantrarāja Tantra*, Part I (chs. 1–18), with comm. Manoramā, ed. LAKṢMAṆA ŚĀSTRĪ, London 1918 (*Tantrik Texts*, VIII); Part II (chs. 19–36), with the same comm., ed. SADĀSHIVA MISHRA, Calcutta/London 1926 (*Tantrik Texts*, XII). The introduction to both parts by ARTHUR AVALON has been reprinted in 1952 as “*Tantrarāja Tantra*, A Short Analysis” by SIR JOHN WOODROFFE; third ed. in “*Tantrarāja Tantra and Kāma-Kalā-Vilāsa*”, Madras 1971, p. 1–123. This analysis consists of a useful, but sometimes whimsical, description of the contents of the Tantra. The doctrines of text and commentary are often presented indiscriminately. —The Manoramā has been incorrectly ascribed to PRAKĀŚANANDA by the NCC, VIII, 92. A commentary *Sudarśanā* by PREMANIDHI or his third wife PRĀṆAMAÑ-JARĪ exists in fragmentary form in the ASB library. Cf. CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 77.

features in its doctrinal system (including the *mata* distinction)²⁴. Its influence has been considerable as can be concluded from the many quotations made from it²⁵ and the numerous Mss. (NCC VIII, 92: about 30). Three commentaries on the TT are recorded²⁶; the most important of them, the *Manoramā*, was written by Subhagānandanātha of Kashmir in 1660 VS (1603–04 A.D.) and completed by his pupil Prakāśānandanātha.

The text opens with a short invocation of Gaṇeśa; then Pārvatī entreats her husband to proclaim an independent *tantra* on the worship of the sixteen Nityās²⁷. The answer is introduced by a short survey of the contents of the chapters. Among these, the Nityās indeed take an important place: half of the text is devoted to them. Much attention is also given to cosmology and *mantra-śāstra* including the magical application of *mantras*. Chapter I further discusses the ideal characteristics of the teacher and of the pupil who seeks initiation (a short hymn to the guru is found in vs. 96–100) and some subjects of Mantra-śāstra, i. a. astrological considerations for the selection of *mantras*. The subject of the guru is continued in Ch. II with a description of the *gurumanḍala* preceded by an enumeration of the Nine Nāthas who brought down the tradition on earth. Their names, which seem to be fictive (the first two are Prakāśānanda and Vimarśānanda), are in accordance with those of the Nepalese tradition recorded by H. P. Sastri²⁸. The subjects of *pratiṣṭhā* (installation of an image of the deity in real or mental form) and of *abhīṣeka* (consecration)²⁹, both of them indispensable preliminaries to *pūjā*, also figure in this chapter (39–51; 52–79). Its concluding part contains a litany of praise to the Goddess as the Mātrkā which also occurs at the beginning of the NSA. Chapter III teaches in cryptic form the very complicated *bījas* of the Nityās and some other deities including two recipients of the *balī* offering at the end of the *pūjā*: Vārāhī and Kurukullā.

The highly sophisticated discussion of the worship of the Nityās comprises the chs. IV to XXI; that of the two *balī* deities is found in XXII and XXIII. Lalitā, the first and foremost of the Nityās, receives the attention due to her in chs. IV to VI, while ch. XXI concentrates on worship to be performed on special occasions (*naimittika* and *kāmya*). Lalitā's very secret manifestation in

²⁴ The Tantrarāja mentioned by JAYARATHA in his comm. on the TĀ as a *kula* source (PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 549; more precise, GNOLI, Luce, p. 891) must have been a different text.—For Kādimata etc. see GOUDRIAAN, in GUPTA, HT, p. 42f.

²⁵ E.g., twenty times in the Vidyārnavatantra, as “Kādimata”.

²⁶ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, Introd., p. 33; p. 242.

²⁷ On this occasion, Devī refers to nine earlier Tantras on the subject. See above, n. 7.

²⁸ Nepal Cat., II, 149.—The list of the nine Nāthas of the Kubjikā school is quite different.

²⁹ Cf. HOENS in: GUPTA a. o., HT, p. 88.

the form of the fourth vowel of the Skt. alphabet (the *ī* written in an early variety) is described in 4, 98–100:

“The group of three *bījas* of the [Śrī]vidyā, O Goddess, has the fourth vowel as its paramount [and concluding] part; the nature of that fourth vowel has been proclaimed to be the like of a group of three *bindus* (dots); it is of the same self as the deity as well as the *sādhaka*.

Listen to my description of its mental creation, O Wise One, which is the cause of great fortune and happiness: the upper orbit has the nature of a dot, the lower two have the nature of moons; one should create them in the shape of breasts; the other limbs by means of the remaining [parts of the letter]”.

The commentary is needed to explain that “the upper orbit” means the Goddess’ head, while the lower line in the letter completes Her figure (i.e., constitutes Her womb). In this way, the Manoramā continues, the unity in form of Goddess and *mantra* are realized, while during recitation one should at the same time concentrate on the identity of one’s own self and of the guru’s self with the former two; the secret of this identification can only be obtained by oral instruction from the guru himself.

The chapters 25–28 in a very complicated manner discuss the *vyāpti* “mystical interpenetration” of the sixteen Nityās and respectively Time, Speech (in the form of the alphabet), Breath and the Universe. The following passage (26, 11–15) might give an impression:

“Furthermore, by a combination of the sixteen vowels [with the twenty-six consonants], in due order, originate their [secondary] forms. By means of them a number of 576 localizations (*pada*) are constituted; by means of these, the utterances and *mantras*, divided into those composed in Vedic and other forms of speech.

They express the manifestation of the universe in phonic form, identical with the divine self-unfolding (*prapañca*); they are arranged according to rules of euphony, grammatical analysis, and so on.

The numbers [which are the result] of a single, paired, threefold etc. mutual combination of these differing elements [of speech] are countless³⁰. Their forms cannot be commemorated because of their infinity and unimaginability. That is why the greatness of Speech cannot be explained by anyone”.

This tendency to interweave intellectualism and mystic speculation can be considered characteristic of the most important among the treatises of the Śrīkula.

The last eight chapters of the TT discuss the subjects of *homa* (XXIX; XXXI; XXXII; much attention to *kāmya* rituals), the geometrical design of the ground plan of a temple or house (*vāstudevatācakra*, in ch. XXX; an interesting version of the Vāstupuruṣa legend in vs. 4f.); the construction of *yantras* (XXXIII); some *vidyās* (*mantras* of female deities) which are specially suited to magical

³⁰ The commentary explains: by a mere combination of all available consonants with all available vowels one obtains 576 alternatives. A repetition of the procedure would result in $576 \times 576 = 331.776$ varieties; a third combination produces the astounding number of 191.102.976.

applications (XXXIV); and a variety of other subjects (XXXV and XXXVI). Of much interest is the first part (vs. 1–23) of ch. XXXV which gives symbolical background information (*vāsanā*) on a number of Tantric subjects; the rest of the chapter concentrates on details of Mantrāsāstra. The last chapter tries to vindicate the claim to completeness in an original way. At its beginning, Devī expresses her remaining doubts in the form of twenty questions; all of these are duly answered by her husband.

The author of the TT manages to combine an impressive quantity of *ślokas* with a considerable literary achievement, to wit a learned, sophisticated, non-repetitive presentation of the complicated subject in a good though cryptic style. This standard was not maintained in the Jñānārnavatantra (JT) “Tantra of the Ocean of Wisdom” (the term Tantra has, as often, been added pleonastically). Notwithstanding this, it obtained a relatively great popularity³¹. With its 1629 *ślokas*, the text amounts to nearly half the size of the TT. It has been commented upon by Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa in the Gūḍhārthādarśa “Mirror of the Secret Meaning”. There are, however, allusions to other commentaries in the literature³². The JT has often been quoted, i. a. by Brahmānanda and Pūrṇānanda; the *terminus ante quem* is therefore before the sixteenth century³³. The text belongs to the Kādimata³⁴; in the colophons to its chapters it bears the subtitle Nityātāntra. The number of chapters differs: the ASS edition contains 26, but some Mss. from Calcutta and London have only 23³⁵.

In the short first chapter, Śiva answers some questions posed by his wife regarding the nature of the rosary (*akṣamālā*; the name is said to originate from the first and last letters of the alphabet, *a* and *kṣa*) and of the Supreme Brahman which is said to be the *ātman* or the *haṁsa* (upward breath symbolized by a goose), and to be adorned by three bindus: Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva with their Śaktis Vāmā, Jyeṣṭhā and Raudrī. Some other essential triads also originate from these three *bindus*; from their combination Tripurā, who is worshipped

³¹ Many Mss. are recorded in NCC VII, 347 and KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 223. Sixteen works ascribe themselves to the JT.—The text was edited by GAṆEŚA ŚĀSTRĪ GO-KHALE, Poona 1952 (ASS 69); there are some critical notes, but an account of the Mss. is lacking.—Another Tantra called Jñānārṇava seems to belong to the Pāñcārātra (NCC VII, 347).—The Jñānārṇava by ŚUBHACANDRA is a yoga text; it bears the subtitle Yogapradīpa (RASB Cat. VIII, p. 728).

³² See NCC VII, p. 347; PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 567.

³³ SIRCAR, Śākta Piṭhas, p. 18.—PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 566, incorrectly remarks that the JT is included by the NSA in its list of 64 Tantras (the last item of that list is called Jñāna). V. V. DWIVEDA (Introd. to the NSA, p. 25f.) for sound reasons considers the JT as younger than the NSA and the TT.

³⁴ Cf. RĀMEŚVARA ON PKS 7, 37 (ed. GOS, p. 277).

³⁵ The reason is that the subject-matter presented in chs. 10–12 of the ASS edition constitutes only one chapter in these Mss.; the same with chs. 14–15 of the ASS edition. The Ms. recorded by H. P. SASTRI, Notices, I, p. 129, has only 22 chapters. The recension with the lesser number of chapters seems to hail from the North-East; that of 26 chs. from the West and South of India.

by Śiva, obtains her name. The chapters II–V describe the *mantra*, meditation and worship of Bālā, the Youthful Tripurā, while chs. VI–X concentrate on Tripurabhairavī, the fear-inspiring manifestation of the goddess. This aspect of Tripurā is seated on five “thrones” (*siṃhāsana*); the fifth of them is to be realized in the form of the four Āmnāyas or strands of tradition³⁶. A third form of Tripurā is identical with the Supreme Brahman which is nothing else than the union of Śiva and Śakti symbolized by the sounds *ha* and *sa* (ch. X). From the eleventh chapter (ASS ed.) onwards the subject is the Śrividya, its varieties, assignment to the body, worship and applications. In this context XV gives the *mantras* and *maṇḍala* of the Nityās, and XVI the mental worship and its application. The following chapter concentrates on the supernatural effects of *japa* with the Śrividya, while an interesting ceremony involving flowers made from jewels and other precious materials is described next (XVIII). The last part of the work is concerned with the application of the three *bijas* of Tripurā, with homa, *dūtīyāga* (a ceremony of worship performed with a female partner) and with the optional rites of *pavitṛāropaṇa*³⁷ and *damanāropaṇa*³⁸.

Although the text does not come up to the literary standard of the Śrīkula texts mentioned above, it contains precious information on the worship of Tripurā and other subjects which it often presents in a clear and unpretentious language, sometimes adding argumentations like the following one taken from an explanation of the concept of the Five Corpses³⁹ (4, 12 f.; the translated passage is 4, 17 f.; it describes Viṣṇu’s position):

“And preservation (of the world) is not based on Viṣṇu; the One Who preserves is Śiva’s Supreme Spouse; O Great Lady, under the name of Jyeṣṭhā She is proclaimed to be Viṣṇu.

But Viṣṇu is motionless, O Goddess; Viṣṇu’s (Śakti) is the agent of pervasion (in the world); [preserving the whole world of beings, causing the All to dance⁴⁰]; therefore, O Great Lady, also Viṣṇu is a Corpse without any doubt”.

The text which naturally offers itself for consideration next, the Śaktisaṃgatantra (ŚST)⁴¹, greatly exceeds the previous Śrīkula texts in size. According

³⁶ The deities residing on the thrones are Trailokyamohanī (E.), Aghorī (S.), Nityabhairavī (W.) and Bhuvaneśvarī or Annapūrnā (N.). Those of the four Āmnāyas are Unmanī (E.) Bhoginī or Nityaklinnā (S.), Kubjikā (W.) and Kālikā (N.). Kubjikā’s *mantra* is the same as the *mantra* of 32 syllables taught in the KMT, ch. 7.

³⁷ Worship of Devī in a pot with threads wrapped around it.

³⁸ Worship of the *damana* creeper which originated from the tears of Rati and Priti when their husband Kāma was burnt by a flash from Śiva’s third eye. See also MEYER, *Trilogie*, I, p. 40.

³⁹ These are Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Īśvara and Sadāśiva.

⁴⁰ This half-*śloka* is found in only one Ms.

⁴¹ An edition in four volumes was undertaken by BENOYTOSH BHATTACHARYYA in the GOS. He could only publish three of them: the Kālikhaṇḍa (GOS, vol. 61, Baroda 1932), the Tārākhaṇḍa (GOS, 91, 1941) and the Sundarikhaṇḍa (GOS, 104, 1947). The fourth or Chinnamastākhaṇḍa was edited by V. V. DWIVEDA as GOS, 166, 1979.

to tradition, it consisted of sixty thousand *ślokas*⁴² and was divided into two halves each of which would have contained four *khaṇḍas*. The ŚST itself (1, 1, 9f.) informs us that this complete work was in former times known as the Tantrarāja; the first half was called Kādi, the second Hādi. Each *khaṇḍa* was divided into 36 chapters of 100 *ślokas* each. It is clear that the description of at least the Kādi part is based upon fact: the Tantrarājatantra discussed above has exactly the size and division of one *khaṇḍa*. The Hādi part remains a mystery. It cannot be the origin of the present ŚST, which often endorses the Kādi viewpoint and in general takes an eclectic or rather compilative stand, trying to harmonize both traditions (the *kahādi* view)⁴³. In practice, its eclecticism is at first sight apparent. Much space is devoted to Kālī and Tārā, who together with Tripurā form a kind of trinity. The bulk of the text is even presented in the colophons as a dialogue between Akṣobhya and Tārā. Its real size amounts to nearly 9000 *ślokas*; its four *khaṇḍas* are: 1. Kālīkhaṇḍa of 21 chapters and 1860 *ślokas* in the GOS edition; 2. Tārākhaṇḍa of 71 chs. and 3409 *ślokas*; 3. Sundarīkhaṇḍa (after Tripurasundarī) in 21 chs., and 4. Chinnamastākhaṇḍa in 11 chs. and about 1582 *ślokas*. The number of chapters varies in the Mss. tradition⁴⁴.

This Tantra is not an old work. The editor, B. Bhattacharyya, concluded (vol. I, p. VI) that it was composed between about 1555 and 1607 A.D. The *terminus ante quem* of 1607 A.D., however, is quite uncertain, because it depends on the date of Kṛṣṇānanda, the author of the Tantrasāra⁴⁵. On the ground of evidence furnished by the text V. V. Dwiveda (Introd. to *khaṇḍa* IV, p. 8f.) argued that it was completed in 1645 A.D.; but this date also, which involves that of Śaṅkara, is unreliable. Notwithstanding this uncertainty, dating the text within the last part of the sixteenth or the first half of the seventeenth century cannot be far of the mark. Some portions (for instance, the legend of Chinnamastā in 4, 5, 149f.) might be paraphrases from earlier sources. As to its region of provenance one can say that some features, such as acquaintance with Western and Southern sects (Jainas, Vaikhānasas) suggest the area south of the Vindhyas⁴⁶. The work did attain some popularity, as far as can be judged from the number of Mss. (about twenty have been listed; most of them incomplete), and its value as a source of information is indeed considerable on account of its encyclopaedic character. It deals with the subjects of geography, religious history (also non-Tantric schools and sects are mentioned) and, of course, Tantric ritualism. From a literary viewpoint, however, the judgment

⁴² KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 611.

⁴³ In 1, 6, 125f., the SST contains the mystifying remark that the Kādi viewpoint amounts to the worship of Kālī, the Hādi to that of Tripurā, and the Kahādi to that of Tārā. On *kahādi*, see also WOODROFFE, TT Analysis, p. 1.

⁴⁴ Thus R. MITRA, Notices, p. 405, and a Bikaner Ms. give 20 chs. for the first and 65 for the second *khaṇḍa* (KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 611).

⁴⁵ See below, p. 139.

⁴⁶ See also V. V. DWIVEDA, Introd. to *khaṇḍa* 4, p. 8f.

cannot be favourable. There is no attempt at a polished style; the *ślokas*, of mediocre quality, come after each other in a seemingly endless string, and even their didactic value is highly impaired by a tendency to sudden change of subject, purposeless repetition and, above all, undue and confusing classification⁴⁷. The author is especially haunted by two principles of division: *mata* (Kādi/Hādi) and the novel one of *krāntā* (Kerala, Gauḍa, Kāśmīra).

The four *khaṇḍas* are not, as their names would suggest, devoted to the worship of one particular deity. They all contain an overwhelming variety of subjects from which we mention the following: in Kālikhaṇḍa, ch. I, the purpose of the revelation of the Tantra (annihilation of heresy, esp. Buddhism; protection of the Sampradāya and of Brahmanism; teaching of *mantrasiddhi*); in the same chapter, an interesting but confused account of evolution; in ch. III f., the discussion of *dikṣā* ceremonials studded with digressions; description of religious denominations in ch. VIII; *rātri* rituals (Śivarātri etc.) in ch. XIII; mantras of Tārā, especially the Trailokyākaraṣiṇī, in XIV f. In the Tārākhaṇḍa: Tantric literature, various sects and *vidyās* in ch. I; kinds of *pūjā* ingredients in II f., with special attention to *āsanas* (also in LXVII and LXXI); *vīra* rituals⁴⁸ in X f. and XXXVIII; erotic rituals in XIII f., interrupted by special rules of conduct connected with the ten Mahāvidyās⁴⁹; subjects pertaining to *japa* of *mantras* in XLVI f.; *yantras* in LI f. and LXV f.; precious stones in LIV f.; kinds of yoga in LIX f.; *mudrā* in XXXII, LIII, LXIII. The third or Sundarikhaṇḍa, the oldest according to V. V. Dwiveda⁵⁰, is mainly concerned with rituals of the Śricakra, although ch. I gives a survey of the results obtainable by worship of different deities. The Nityās are discussed in chs. XII f. Throughout this portion, much attention is paid to *sādhana*s of deities resulting in magical attainments, a topic which is by no means absent from the first two *khaṇḍas* either. The fourth or Chinnamastākhaṇḍa is no other than the text announced as Sammohanatantra by H. P. Sastri and discussed under that title by P. Ch. Bagchi⁵¹. In its colophons, the title Tārāsopāna also occurs. Its contents, as well as those of the first three *khaṇḍas* of the SST, have been systematically

⁴⁷ We do not subscribe to the opinion expressed by BHARATI, Tantric Tradition, p. 328, who considers the SST the most important Hindu Tantra together with the Mahānirvāṇa.

⁴⁸ The *vīra* or "heroic" adept tries to attain spiritual perfection by antinomian rites such as *śavasādhana*, temporarily enlivening a corpse (see S. GUPTA in: S. GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 161 f.).

⁴⁹ Ten manifestations of Kālī: Kālī, Tārā, Śoḍaśī or Tripurasundarī, Bhuvaneśvarī, Bhairavī, Chinnamastā, Dhūmāvatī, Bagalā, Mātangi, Kamalā in the best known version. The series is of comparably recent origin. Cf. CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 85; REGMI, Medieval Nepal, II, p. 581 f.

⁵⁰ The chronological sequence of the *khaṇḍas* is according to DWIVEDA (Introd. to khaṇḍa 4, p. 4 f.): 3-4-2-1.

⁵¹ H. P. SASTRI, Nepal Cat., II, p. 183; BAGCHI, Studies, p. 96 f. Cf. also DWIVEDA, Introd. to khaṇḍa 4, p. 9.

presented by Dwiveda in his Sanskrit introduction. Some important features are: classification of *mantras* and deities in ch. I; further classifications, presented in seven Paryāyas “rounds” from 2, 15 onwards, for instance of regions (ch. III), Āmnāyas (5, 58f.; ch. VII); Tantras (5, 44f.; 6, 93f.; 7); origin of the ten Mahāvidyās (in the context of Kālaparyāya: “who was born at what time?”); a historically interesting discussion of the Śāṅkarite Daśanāmī tradition (8, 61f.); there are also ritual subjects such as erotic ritual (chs. II–IV); use of flowers (4, 74f. and 5, 1–40); and miscellaneous topics, e.g. identification of Kṛṣṇa with Lalitā and of Rāma with Śiva (9, 1f.); *kuṇḍaliniyoga* (9, 36f.); digression on *japa* with the *akṣamālā* (end of ch. IX; 10, 1–57). In general, the Chinnamastākhaṇḍa agrees in style and diction with the other parts of the SST.

Some other Tantras which can be classified within the Śrīkula are of minor importance. The Vidyārṇavatāntara (VDT) by Vidyāranya Yati, despite the word Tantra, is a *nibandha*, a compilation of quotations interspersed with usually short connecting remarks in prose⁵². The author claims to be a great-grand-disciple of Śāṅkarācārya himself along the line of Viṣṇuśarmaṇ and Pragalbhācārya (VDT 1, 71f.). This is impossible; it is even most doubtful if this Vidyāranya is identical with the famous Advaita philosopher of that name who flourished in the fourteenth century⁵³. That our author belonged to the Śāṅkarite tradition is, however, evident on account of his knowledge of and interest in the *paramparā* of this tradition displayed in the first chapter. In its edited form the book contains at least eleven chapters or *śvāsas* “breaths”; it breaks off after st. 78 of ch. XI. The motive for its composition is stated in the text to be a request made by a king Ambadeva, son of Praudhadeva and king of Vidyānagara (VDT 1, 93f.)⁵⁴. The only original part of the work is the bulk of the first chapter, which contains a detailed exposition of the threefold guru tradition (*divya*, *siddha* and *mānava*) of the Śrīvidyā school before and after Śāṅkara. The school is divided into the two *matas* of Kādi and Kālī. There is also an enumeration of the gurus of six Āmnāyas as well as their deities (1, 310f.); seven kinds of *cakras* are discussed afterwards (1, 323f.). Worship of the *gurumaṇḍala* and other matters relating to the guru are illustrated by means of long quotations from the KT, the TT and other sources. The same subject is continued in ch. II; the other chapters mainly concentrate on *mantraśāstra*, with special attention to the integration of the phonic system in the six *cakras*

⁵² Ed. BHADRAŚĪLA ŚARMĀ, Prayag V.S. 2023 (1966–67 A.D.) in 2 parts. BHARATI, Tantric Tradition, p. 330, ascribes the authorship to ŚIVĀNANDA GOŚVĀMIN.

⁵³ On him, see S.N. DASGUPTA, History of Indian Philosophy, Vol II, Cambridge 1932, p. 214–216.

⁵⁴ On the problem of VIDYĀRANYA's role in the foundation of Vidyānagara = Vijayanagara, cf. N. VENKATARAMANAYYA in: The Delhi Sultanate (HCIP VI), Bombay 1960, p. 321f.; G. VENKAT RAO, in: M. HABIB/KH.A. NIZAMI, The Delhi Sultanate (A Comprehensive History of India, Vol. V), Delhi a.o. 1970, p. 1040f.

of the body and the Prapañcayāgamantra in ch. IV, and, above all, worship of the Śrīvidyā (ch. V f.) including the five “thrones” in ch. VII⁵⁵; the construction and symbolism of the Śrīcakra in ch. VIII; the *pūjā* in chs. IX f. The author quotes a great number of texts among which figure very conspicuously the KT, also called Ūrdhvāmnāya, the JT, the TT, the RY and the Tripurāṇava.

The still unedited Ānandārṇavatāntra⁵⁶ “Ocean of Bliss”, which calls itself a Catuḥśatisaṃhitā “Collection of Four Hundred” in its colophon, in ten *paṭalas*, describes the worship of the Śrīvidyā and the Śrīcakra in the guise of an interview of Śiva as the Omniscient by Sarvamaṅgalā, an aspect of the Devī. The third chapter is on *dikṣā*, the ninth on the twofold Mālāmantra. The Sanskrit is quite correct, as far as can be judged from the *ślokas* which have been quoted in the RASB catalogue.

The Ānandatantra should be distinguished from the preceding text. It is much larger (1913 *ślokas*) and discusses various aspects of Tantric worship in twenty chapters presented as a Devī-Kāmeśvarasaṃvāda. Ch. XV is on Śaktipūjā, while the last five chapters contain digressions on the caste system, philosophical schools and Tantric sects. It is of South Indian origin⁵⁷ and ascribes itself to the (unrecorded) “Bhagamālinīsaṃhitā of 100.000 *ślokas*” from the Nityāṣoḍaśīkārṇavatāntra “of 320 million *ślokas*”. Two commentaries on the Ānandatantra are recorded, one by Narasiṃhācārya and one called Pradīpa by an anonymous author.

Different again is the Paramānandatantra which is also unedited. A Ms. of this work from Calcutta⁵⁸ is divided into 25 *ullāsas* and contains about 3600 *ślokas*. The dialogue is between Devī and Bhairava. On Devī’s request to proclaim a Tantra of (Tripura)sundarī which procures supreme bliss (*paramānanda*), Bhairava announces the revelation of the text which on a former occasion was acquired by him from Śaṅkara (Śiva). The latter had also proclaimed earlier Tantras in order to delude those who are bound by their *karman*:

“Stupid people, blinded by delusion as to the right portions of all these Tantras, only occupy themselves with the wrong portions, intent as they are on gratification of the senses”.

After paying due attention to the tantric tradition in the first two chapters, the work goes on concentrating itself on the Śrīvidyā and its deity.

The preceding text should not be confounded with the Parānandamata, a very short text (about 70 *ślokas*) of limited importance which claims to represent an independent school and on account of that received some attention

⁵⁵ On these cf. above, p. 68, in connection with the JT.

⁵⁶ Ms. RASB 6017, in 480 *ślokas*. See also NCC II, p. 102f.

⁵⁷ Most of the about twenty Mss. recorded in the NCC are from Madras.

⁵⁸ RASB 5998; on other Mss., cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 360, who also records a voluminous commentary Saubhāgyānandasamṛdha by MAHEŚVARĀNANDANĀTHA.—A different text, also called Paramānandatantra, in 18 *udrekḥās* is noted in KAVIRAJ, o.c., p. 69.

of scholars⁵⁹. Some of its stanzas are also found in the text of the Pārānanda-sūtra⁶⁰. Another minor text is the Śrītantra which seems to exist in only one Ms.⁶¹. In six *paṭalas* and about 425 *ślokas* it gives an exposition of the *mantras* and *yantra*, as well as the daily and optional ritual of Tripurasundarī.

The Sanatkumārasaṃhitā or S.-tantra has been quoted more than once by Lakṣmidhara and Bhāskararāya and was considered by the former as one of the five Śubha "Pure" Āgamas⁶². Although Woodroffe managed to quote it⁶³, it is not clear if a Śākta text of this name still exists. The Ms. which is preserved under this title in the RASB (No. 6031) is a Vaiṣṇava text in which the ṛṣi Sanatkumāra is questioned by Pulastya. In 540 *ślokas* grouped into eleven *paṭalas* it describes *mantras* and worship of Kṛṣṇa, especially the Gopāla mantra (chs. VI f.)⁶⁴. Of more importance is the Dakṣiṇāmūrtisaṃhitā which is devoted to the worship of various goddesses with special reference to the cult of Tripurasundarī. There are 66 chapters; the text has often been quoted by Tantric authorities⁶⁵.

The name of the Kulodḍīśatantra suggests a "magical Tantra" but the text which we possess now is mainly devoted to the *vidyās* of Tripurasundarī and related deities⁶⁶. In about 925 *ślokas* Īśvara answers Devī's questions about Mahāṣoḍaśī (the aspect of Tripurasundarī which impersonates the Śrīvidyā of sixteen syllables) and her *vidyās*. The four chapters form two groups called Mahāvidyāprastāra (chs. I and II) and Brahmajñānaprastāra "Exposition of the Knowledge of Brahman"; Brahman is expressed here by means of the Śrīvidyā. There are other passages of speculative interest such as the remark that everything is fivefold (1, 12); this ordering is based on the five elements, and these are represented by five gods and five Śāktis of Mahāṣoḍaśī called Kāmeśvarī, Vajreśvarī, Bhagamālā, Tripurasundarī and Parabrahmasvarūpiṇī. The text appears to be of relatively late date and perhaps hails from Bengal.

The Gandharvatantra (or Gāndharvat.), revealed by Dattātreyā to Viśvāmitra, is a voluminous text in 42 *paṭalas* which describes a great number of

⁵⁹ CHAKRAVARTI, RASB Cat., VIII, p. XX; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 43; KANE, HDh, V, 2, p. 1053f.

⁶⁰ Ed. in the GOS as Vol. 56.—The fragment on *dikṣā* which calls itself a part of a Parānandatantra may represent still another text (preserved in the CSC; cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 363).

⁶¹ RASB 5820; beginnings of chapters are given in the Catalogue.

⁶² AWASTHI, Rahasya, p. 10; FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 268.

⁶³ WOODROFFE, Shakti and Shākta, p. 52; there are also quotations in the Ṣaṭkarmadīpikā and in RĀMEŚVARA's comm. on the PKS.—The text should not be confounded with the Pāñcarātra text of this name.

⁶⁴ Presumably the same text is described by MITRA, Notices, p. 232.

⁶⁵ Ed. at Benares 1937 as No. 61 of the PWSB Texts. The NCC, VIII, p. 297f., records about 50 Mss. Cf. also CSC Cat., p. 34f.

⁶⁶ Text unedited; data taken from the Ms. RASB 5845. The Kulodḍīśa occurs as No. 52 in the NSA list of 64 Tantras and as No. 49 in the KulCT list, but it is not clear whether the title refers to the same text or not.

vidyās and various aspects of Tantric *pūjā*⁶⁷. Its main interest is in Tripurā worship including subjects like Vaṭukapūjā, Kumāripūjā, Dikṣā, Puraścaraṇa, Homa and Kulācāra. It is often quoted and a number of minor texts ascribe themselves to it. Ch. XXX describes the Kāmakaḷā doctrine.

⁶⁷ Ed. R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA in *Tantrasāra*, Calcutta 1884; ed. U. TARKARATNA and T. NYĀYARATNA in *Sulabhatantraprakāśa*, Calcutta 1886; ed. R.C. KAK and H.BH. SHASTRI, Srinagar 1934 (KSTS, 62). The number of Mss. is not overwhelming: NCC V, p. 307f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 172f.—On this text, see also AVALON, *Principles of Tantra*, p. LXVf.; WOODROFFE, TT and KKV, p. 134.

CHAPTER IV

TANTRAS DEVOTED TO KĀLĪ AND SOME OTHER GODDESSES

The goddess Kālī differs widely from the awesome but essentially benign mother Tripurasundarī who is equated with Śrī/Lakṣmī. Kālī's horrible manifestation is most prominent, especially in the more recent period, and famous also outside India¹. It is true, she also is a mother, but one who not only caresses but also chastises; a representation of destructive Time, of death as well as life. This difference between the two goddesses (or, if one prefers, the two aspects of the Great Goddess), is in principle reflected in their adepts. A Tantric aspirant who wants to follow the course described in the Kālikula should feel himself attracted by the unpredictable, the antinomian, the idea of salvation through gruesome experience, in short, the "heroic state" (*virabhāva*). This means that rites of the *virā* type tend to be more frequently described in the Kālikula literature.

The Tantras which might conveniently be placed in this class do not as a rule possess the intellectual ingenuity and literary accomplishment of those of the preceding group. Many of them are mediocre products of a comparatively late period and in importance lag far behind the leading products of the digest genre. But this is not to say that the whole of Kālī worship and its literature would be a late and secondary phenomenon. On the contrary, a number of Tantras which are concerned with the worship and symbolism of Kālī as the supreme deity are precious products of considerable antiquity; besides, several old sources have probably been lost. The beginnings of Kālikula literature can be traced back further than those of the Śrīkula. In the early period, the worship of Kālī was a characteristic of the Uttara or "Northern" Āmnāya; its speculative superstructure was especially associated with the Krama system which, however, seems to have been only a variety within the Kula tradition, an alternate road to spiritual fulfilment². A text called Kālikula is repeatedly referred to by Abhinavagupta in his *Tantrāloka*³; Kālī's early form as Kāla-saṃkarṣiṇī is the object of devotion in several old texts such as the *Brahmayā-*

¹ On Kālī, see GONDA, *Rel. Indiens* II, p. 209f.; C.G. HARTMAN, *Aspects de la déesse Kālī dans son culte et dans la littérature indienne*, Helsinki 1969; CH. CHAKRAVARTI, Kālī worship in Bengal, in *ALB*, 21, 1957, p. 296-303; BEANE, *Myth. Cult and Symbols*, p. 150f.; 175f.

² On the Āmnāyas, see above, p. 17; on Krama literature, p. 49f.

³ See GNOLI, *Luce*, p. 885.

mala, the Devīyāmala (TĀ 3, 70; 3, 234), the Mādhavakula⁴ and the Tantrāloka itself (her *mantra* in TĀ 30, 54). A detailed study of the many references contained in the early sources will probably shed more light on the first stages of the Kālīkula and its literature.

Apart from the Yāmalaś, which have already been dealt with (p. 39f.), perhaps the oldest Tantra on Kālī worship preserved to us is the Yonigahvara "Recess of the Womb", only one Ms. of which seems to have survived⁵. Its length is estimated at 550 *ślokaś*. According to the colophon, it formed part of a work of sixteen thousand *ślokaś* connected with Caṇḍabhairava, emitted from the Omkārapīṭha (probably = Oḍḍiyānapīṭha) in the Uttarāmnāya. The introductory stanza directed to Kālī is in Vasantatilakā metre; the work itself is written in the usual kind of didactic *ślokaś* of poor style⁶. The scene is the cremation ground Karavīra located in the Uttarapīṭha, where Bhairava, surrounded by Yoginīś, is questioned by Bhairavī. The latter alludes to the fact that Kālī is already known in thirty-five aspects (the *tattvaś*?) and expresses her desire to know how Kālī originated and why she is called by this name; information which she could not obtain from any other *śāstra*. Besides Kālī's *vidyā* should be communicated. Bhairava begins his answer by laying stress on the Goddess' transcendent nature; she is

"beyond the senses, inconceivable, of free volition, free from defects, identical with the stainless supreme sky, without desire, [residing in] the sphere beyond the sky . . ."

Bhairava goes on expounding the requirements of a *vīra* and then engages in speculation about the nature of Śakti and her relation to the Supreme Śiva. Her presence in the yogic body in the shape of a coiled serpent is also mentioned. Among the subjects touched upon is the creation of the Gahvara alluded to in the title; it appears to be the alphabet arranged in a geometrical figure of fifty sections which should be considered the womb of all *mantraś* (fol. 9b). Further on (fol. 17a), the *gurukrama* (succession of gurus) is expounded in a fourfold system characterized by the terms *krama*, *siddha*, *saṃhāra* and *anākhyā*⁷. There are four chief expounders (*nātha*, "Protectors") in the four ages of the world: Khagendra, Kūrma, Meśa and Mīna, all of them accompanied by

⁴ JAYARATHA on TĀ 29, 57 quotes a relevant fragment from this text.

⁵ RASB 5903, palm leaf (Cat., VIII, p. 106f.). The compiler of the Catalogue supposes that the text belonged to the Nātha school, because the *gurukrama* of this school is mentioned in it. But it is possible that such an old *gurukrama*, at least its first part, is shared by more than one sect. The Ms. can be roughly dated at about A.D. 1200.

⁶ There are striking deviations such as an optative used for expressing a descriptive past tense (1, 8; the phenomenon can be found also elsewhere); the Ms. is moreover corrupt to an appalling degree.

⁷ On fol. 3a, however, the series is: *śṛṣṭi*, *avatāra*, *saṃhāra*, *anākhyā*. Compare the Krama series described presently below.

their respective female partner (*dūti*)⁸; together they had twelve sons whose names are also communicated. The subjects of guru tradition and cosmogony are again taken up in a further part of the work.

The archaism displayed by the Yonigahvara is not shared any more by the Parātantra⁹, but this text contains material which is evidently based upon old traditions. In tolerable style, it tries to present a clear picture of the Śākta *paramparā* arranged into the system of the Six Āmnāyas, for which it is a most important source. There are four chapters. The first and longest gives a survey of the six Āmnāyas; the other three specialize on the Kālikula¹⁰. The discussion between Śiva and Devī (Kulasundarī) is again located on the Karavīra cremation ground. This appears from the elaborate colophons in which the Tantra is presented as part of a text of 12,000 stanzas recited during the Great Karavīra-yāga, and belonging to the Śiraścheda "Severing-the-Head" (tradition or school). Devī alludes to the great number of scriptures which have already been emitted (they amount to 2,4 million *ślokas*). Her question now is: If the Śakti is unique, as was proclaimed in the Kulakulārṇava (=Kālikulārṇava?), how can there be six Āmnāyas, six thrones, six Nāyikās ("Female Guides") etc.? This is the occasion for the Lord to expound the sixfold tradition arranged in accordance with the compass: the Eastern (deity: Pūrṇeśvarī), Southern (Niḥśeśvarī,?), Western (Kubjikā), Northern (Kālī), Upper (Śrīvidyā) and Lower (Vajrayoginī, Buddhist). Their *mantras* and secondary deities are described in short.

In the first chapter the doctrine is presented that Devī who is the real cause of the cosmic process also manifests herself in the fivefold shape of the elements, although her highest form is identical with Brahman. The author is evidently well informed about the systems of the Āmnāya deities; thus he communicates the *mantra* of 32 syllables of Kubjikā which is taught in the KMT (ch. 7). For the Śrīvidyā he discusses the varieties ascribed to Lopāmudrā and Kāmarāja. The other chapters deal with Kālī. Her "divisions" (*bheda*) are those of the *cakra*, *krama* and *kula*. The *cakra* is the well-known Kālicakra which consists (departing from the Centre) of the Bindu, a triangle, figures of five and nine angles, and lotuses of eight, twelve and sixteen leaves. Special attention is paid to the division called Krama, i.e. a fivefold manifestation (the Kālīs of Creation, Preservation, Destruction, the Inexpressible and Lustre¹¹); all of them are said

⁸ The tradition is also known to ABHINAVAGUPTA, TĀ 29, 29f. (the *siddhacakra*) and discussed i.a. by PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 544f.

⁹ Ed. in 526 *ślokas* and 9 chs. by D.S. JANG BAHADUR RANA, Prayag 2016 V.S. (1959–60 A.D.); there are four Mss. in the ASB library. See also IOL Cat. IV, p. 891f. (no. 2590).

¹⁰ The printed ed. treats the six sections of ch. I, each of which describes a different Āmnāya, as separate chapters.

¹¹ This fivefold system is also characteristic of the Krama school known from Kashmir authors; cf. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 493f.; RASTOGI, Krama Tantricism, p. 7, 56, 78.

to be enveloped and transcended by Guhyakālī. The rest of the chapter is occupied by rules for meditations on different forms of Kālī; praise of the guru; creation of *vidyās*. Chapter III discusses the *vidyā* of seventeen syllables which is too secret to be promulgated in writing even by means of code language ("it should be like written on water"). There are antinomian pronouncements also, accompanied by attempts at apologetics. The last chapter mainly describes nocturnal ritual of a *vīra* accompanied by his *śakti*.

The Kālikulārṇava(tantra) is probably fairly old, but the text is only preserved in one relatively young Nepalese Ms.¹² It is estimated at 1176 *ślokas*. After a speculative exordium it seems to concentrate on the worship of Guhyakālī whose formula of 100 syllables is given at the end. The text is quoted by some digests such as the Tantrasāra and the Puraścaryārṇava¹³. Perhaps not in its entirety devoted to Kālī is the Kaṅkālāmālinītantra which asserts that it belongs to the Dakṣiṇāmṇāya. The fifth chapter, which is said to contain 676 *ślokas*¹⁴, describes, among other subjects, the Śiva-Śakti nature of the alphabet and some *mantras* of Mahākālī. It is unclear if the work has been preserved complete in any Ms. Another text which is only known from one Nepalese Ms. is the Jhaṅkārakaravīra. According to H. P. Shastri, the goddess alluded to in the title is Jhaṅkeśvarī who possessed a temple in the neighbourhood of Kathmandu and of whose worship we possess data from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries¹⁵. The text is said to have originally comprised 8.000 *ślokas*; the fragment of 675 *ślokas* which is actually found is only a *paddhati* describing the worship of Caṇḍakapālīnī; from the lines quoted in the Catalogue it does not become clear if this figure is identical with Jhaṅkeśvarī.

Difficult to compare with the preceding texts in size as well as in character is the Mahākālasaṃhitā (MKS) or Mahākālayogaśāstra ascribed to Ādinātha in the colophons¹⁶. The text functions as a locus of ascription for a number of *stotras* and other texts¹⁷. As far as can be judged from the numbers of the preserved chapters, the original text would have consisted of at least 255 chap-

¹² Nepal Cat., I, p. LVII f., 160 f. The Ms. is dated N.S. 867 = 1747 A.D.; it remained inaccessible to me.

¹³ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 122.

¹⁴ MITRA, Notices, 246, according to KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 87; a Ms. from Jammu contains 627 *śl.* (Jammu Cat., p. 989). Cf. also the NCC, III, p. 113.

¹⁵ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXII; REGMI, Medieval Nepal, I, p. 555, and especially the same work, II, p. 585.

¹⁶ The Kāmakaḷākhaṇḍa (chs. 241–255 of the MKS) has been edited under supervision of U. MISHRA and G. KAVIRAJ, Ilāhābād 1971; this edition is certainly not the last word on the text. According to the NCC, II, p. 81, there are six Mss., but J. MISHRA (Foreword to the Ilāhābād ed., p. I) records 38 Mss. in Nepal only, all of them fragmentary. Among them is the Guhyakālīkhaṇḍa (chs. 181–195).

¹⁷ For instance, the Kālīpurāṇa "from the Mahākālasaṃhitā of Rudrayāmala" and the Ṣoḍaśapātra of 40 *ślokas* which contains *mantras* for the consecration of wine.

ters, of which only about thirty have come down to us¹⁸. The edited part (chs. 241–255) describes the worship of one particular aspect of the Goddess: Kāmaka-lākālī. Although she is in theory a manifestation of Kālī, the system of her worship reflects the influence of the Śrīvidyā tradition; for instance, at the beginning of ch. 244 eight *bhedas* of Kāmaka-lākālī are taught, just as there are eight *bhedas* of Tripurā beginning with Kāmarāja. The Sanskrit is not bad, but on some places the style is somewhat tedious. From the contents the following points deserve attention. The Kālī of the Kāmaka-lā is one of the nine Kālī manifestations (241, 41f.; enumeration); her *mantra* has eighteen syllables and is called Trailokyākaraṣaṇa “Attracting the threefold world” (allusion to the Kāmaka-lā of ravishing beauty). The next chapters describe this *mantra* and the corresponding *yantra*; the procedure of her worship (245f.) including *homa* (247), *yoga* (latter part of 247) and sixfold *nyāsa* (248; detailed treatment). After a Trailokyamohanakavaca (249), there is a *stotra* of 24 stanzas in the Bhujaṅga-prayāta metre ascribed to the Vāmakeśvaratantra; it would have been proclaimed by Rāvaṇa after one of his victories. It is probably a later addition, because Devī immediately afterwards refers to the Kavaca and not to the Stotra. Then follows a description of Śaktipūjā with a human partner who may be “the own (wife) or another’s wife (*parakīyā*); if a *parakīyā* is not available, one should ordain one’s own (wife)”. The last chapters contain various *mantras* of Kālī, i. a. the *ayutākṣara* of 10.000 syllables. This *mantra* was communicated to Mahākāla and Nārāyaṇa after a long period of asceticism. When these two gods closed their eyes because they were unable to behold the Goddess’ terrifying form, she revealed her benign form, informing her devotees that her terrifying manifestations were created for frightening the demons to death, the benign ones for deluding even the Supreme Śiva.

One of the most interesting passages in the MKS is ch. 244 which deals with the *śivābali* “Tribute to the Jackals”, a well-known Śākta rite. The jackal (*śivā*)¹⁹ is a manifestation of Śiva’s spouse and worshipped as such by means of a ritual offering of a tribute of food at a crossroads, on a cremation ground or in a dense wood; this should preferably be done at midnight on the fourteenth (and darkest) night of the dark half of the month. The rite can be executed with a view to prognostication. After obtaining Kāmaka-lākālī’s permission,

“one should, fearless and pure of mind, in a low voice invite the jackals of terrible forms and blazing mouths; one should make the *añjali* gesture, the hairs hanging loose, hung around with a garland, naked and upright, thrice uttering the following *mantra* . . . One should observe the jackals’ path; if they, all bearing Kālī’s

¹⁸ J. MISHRA, Foreword to the Ilāhābād ed., p. IV. According to the colophons, the original text would have contained 500.000 *ślokas*. The edited portion numbers nearly three thousand (the stanzas are not numbered in the edition).

¹⁹ The word *śivā* might also indicate a kind of fox. The meaning may differ in accordance with local tradition.

form, arrive immediately, one should know that success [can be expected]; in the other case, the reverse (: failure). One should worship them from a distance with reverence, then put the food before them uttering *mantras* which should contain the words 'take, take, devour, devour, create create success for me, destroy destroy, kill kill my foes . . .'.²⁰

Keeping at a distance, the performer observes which of the offered delicacies they deign to consume first, and he draws his conclusions from it.

"The jackals should not be despised because they are manifestations of the Goddess; Kālikā, in the form of a jackal, arrives in own person".

Nor does the Kālitāntra seem to be one of the oldest texts on Kālī worship. Its name is absent from the lists of 64 Tantras in the NSA and the KulCT, but it occurs in the list of the ATV as No. 8. The stanzas 1,41f. are quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa (about A.D. 1500) in his Kālitattva, while also the Yoginītantra (19,49) refers to a Kālitāntra. If this is the same text as the one known and edited under this name in recent times, it might date from the fifteenth century or still somewhat earlier. But different versions might have circulated under the same vague title: at least one other text called Kālitāntra has been preserved²⁰. The Kālitāntra which is commonly known has been edited and quoted several times²¹. The edition of 1922 contains 334 *ślokas* in twelve chapters, but the last chapter is absent in some Mss. The first chapter, which is also the longest, deals in a clear and simple manner with the worship of the popular form of Dakṣiṇakālī and communicates her famous *vidyā* of twenty-two syllables²². The subjects of preparatory rites (*puraścaraṇa*), special worship, other *mantras* of Kālī (*mantras* of fifteen and twenty-one syllables in ch. V) are treated in the following chapters. Special attention is paid to *virasāadhanā* (ch. VI) during which the adept should try to win spiritual attainments by confrontation with demoniac powers on cremation grounds and other haunted places; he might also apply *śavasāadhanā*, taking as his seat the corpse of a person who died recently, while he recites the mantras of the Goddess (but the corpse of a *brahman* or that of a cow remain taboo: 6,39).

A Kālaḥjñānatantra is mentioned among the texts preserved in Nepal²³. The colophons of the first ten of the eighteen *paṭalas*, however, give its title as Kālottaratantra. Another Kālaḥjñānatantra from Nepal appears to be only a fragment of seventeen *ślokas* containing speculations on the Supreme Being

²⁰ Kālitāntra, ed. KĀLĪPRASANNA VIDYĀRATNA, Calcutta 1892, in 21 *ullāsas*; it deals with yoga practices (NCC, IV, p. 74f.).—The Ms. No. 15 in the Orissa Cat. also seems to be different, while there is still another Ms. called Kālitāntra in Trivandrum (in 4 chs.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 125).

²¹ Ed. at Moradabad 1902; with a Bengali paraphrase by S.CH. SIDDHĀNTABHŪ-ṢAN, Calcutta B.S. 1329 (1922 A.D.); ed. in Śāktapramoda, Bombay 1933.

²² *Kṛīm* (3 ×) *hūṃ* (2 ×) *hrīm* (2 ×) *Dakṣiṇe Kālīke, kṛīm* (3 ×) *hūṃ* (2 ×) *hrīm* (2 ×) *svāhā*.

²³ Nepal Cat., I, p. LIXf.; 80.

which may be fairly old²⁴. At least two texts bear the title Kumārītantra. One of them, dealing with Kālī worship, is present in several Mss.²⁵. There are nine (by exception: ten) chapters and about 300 *ślokas*. According to one of the Orissa Mss., ch. I contains the *vidyā* of the Goddess; the next chapters her worship; ch. V the mastery of *mantras* including secret ritual; ch. VIII the application of the Gāyatrī; ch. IX optional rites. There is a different text of this title which has been edited twice according to the NCC (l. c.).

The Toḍalatantra is mentioned in some old lists²⁶ and often referred to, e.g. in the Mātṛkābheda and the Lakṣmīdhārī. It is a work of about 500 *ślokas*, divided into ten chapters called *paṭala* or *ullāsa*²⁷. There is some agreement in subject-matter between this text and the Uttaratantra of the Rudrayāmala (see above, p. 47). The special interest of the Toḍalatantra is directed to the ten Mahāvidyās, the most important series of Devī's manifestations in Bengal and elsewhere. The first chapter records their names and those of their Bhairavas (forms of Śiva serving as their inactive partners)²⁸ and the reason for Śiva's serving as Kālīkā's seat in the form of a corpse (*śava*). The rest of the work in easy language treats of the following subjects: the Kuṇḍalinī and her pilgrimage towards the sphere of the divine (2); the *yonimudrā* (a *mudrābandha*) followed by the *bījas* and worship of the eight Kālīs and of Tārā (3); internal worship of Tārā (4); worship of Śiva (5); for the *prāsādamantra*, reference is made to the Ūrdhvāmnāyatantra (=KT, ch. 3); Kālī's chief *bīja* *kṛīm* and its symbolism; the same for Tārā's *bīja*, *tram* (6); symbolism of the body as microcosm (*kṣudrabrahmāṇḍa*; 7); the presence of the *liṅga* and the Kuṇḍalinī in the lowest yogic *cakra*, the Mūlādhāra (8); various subjects, i. a. the rosary form of the Kuṇḍalinī, in ch. 9; the Kākacañcumudrā "Crow's Beak Gesture" and the equation of the Mahāvidyās with Viṣṇu's ten Avatāras in chapter X.

In nine chapters, the Siddhalaharītantra treats of the worship of Kālī and the mysticism of the alphabet. The main interlocutors are Jātukarṇa and Nā-

²⁴ Nepal Cat., II, p. 29f.

²⁵ NCC, IV, p. 225; RASB Cat., p. 208f.; Orissa Cat., Nos. 19–21. In some Mss., the text is called Pūrvabhāga "Part One".—The title is present in the ATV list as No. 6.

²⁶ Todala or Troṭala, No. 43 in the KulCT list; No. 44 in the ATV list. In the KulCT list, its title is followed by Toḍalottara or Troṭalottara. The NSA list gives the titles as Trotala and Trotalottara (Nos. 46 and 47).—KṢEMARĀJA on NT 19, 182 refers to Totula in connection with exorcism, a subject absent from the text of the Toḍala known to us.

²⁷ Ed. BHADRAŚĪLA ŚARMĀ, Prayāga V.S. 1918 (A.D. 1961/62); ed. G. KAVIRAJ, in: Tantrasaṃgraha, II, p. 53–94. There are earlier editions from Bengal.

²⁸ The ten Mahāvidyās and Bhairavas according to the Toḍalatantra are: 1. Kālī—Mahākālā; 2. Tārā—Akṣobhya; 3. Tripurasundarī—Śiva Pañcavaktra; 4. Bhuvanāsundarī (= Bhuvaneśvarī)—Tryambakā; 5. Bhairavī—Dakṣiṇāmūrti; 6. Chinamastā—Kābandha; 7. Dhūmāvatī, a widow; 8. Bagalā—Mahārudra; 9. Mātangi—Mataṅga; 10. Kamalā—Viṣṇu.

rada, but other speakers appear also.²⁹ The Niruttaratantra in its complete form contains about 800 *ślokas* in 15 chapters.³⁰ Its main focus is the worship of Dakṣiṇakālī, initiation into her *mantras* and erotic ritual, by preference with women of low birth. As befits a Kālitāntra, it reckons itself to the Uttarāmnāya (4,38). The title may have been inspired by Devī's remark at the end of her first question after the basic form (*prakṛti*) of all *tantras* and *mantras*:

“Reveal that to me in the correct way, so that I may reach the Supreme (*niruttaram*)”.

Śiva then introduces Dakṣiṇakālī as the basis of all *vidyās*. He immediately qualifies this by distinguishing a Kālikula and a Śrīkula, the deities of which he enumerates³¹. Kālī is equated with the cosmic Womb (2,4); without qualities she is Brahman, in qualified manifestation she is Mahālakṣmī, Viṣṇu's *māyā*, who deludes the world.

Among the Tantras devoted to Kālī, some later texts distinguish themselves by a preference for building up connections between the Kālikula and Vaiṣṇava tradition by paying special attention to Vaiṣṇava subjects. Such texts might be called “Kālī-Viṣṇu Tantras”. This phenomenon should be studied in the light of the Vaiṣṇava revival which took place in the North-East of India from the sixteenth century onwards but the foundations of which were laid already at an earlier period³². Śāktism, a leading religion in Bengal and Assam at that time, naturally tried to incorporate Viṣṇuism into its fold by showing it to be an offshoot or aspect of itself. Very striking on the mythological plane is the tendency to consider Viṣṇu/Kṛṣṇa as Kālī's son.

Of the texts which reflect this situation, the Kālivilāsatāntra (KVT) occupies the first place; it is also the best known because of its edition in Avalon's series, in which it contains 863 *ślokas* in 35 chapters³³. The discussion is held between Devī and the Five Faces of Śiva (Sadyojāta etc.) who answer in alternation. The author, writing from a socially conservative standpoint, begins by pointing

²⁹ Only one Ms. seems to exist: RASB No. 5999 (Cat., p. 199f.).

³⁰ Ed. BH. ŚARMĀ, Prayāga V.S. 2017 (A.D. 1960–61); ed. BALDEVPRASĀD MIŚRA, Bombay, Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, 1909; reprinted. For other editions from Bengal, see NCC, VI, p. 62.—The title appears as No. 59 in the KulCT list.

³¹ Niruttaratantra 1,6f. To the Kālikula belong Kālī, Tārā, Raktakālī, Bhuvan(eśvari), Mahiṣamardini, Tripuṭā, Tvaritā, Durgā and Pratyāṅgirā; to the Śrīkula: (Tripura)sundarī, (Tripura) Bhairavī, Bālā, Bagalā, Kamalā, Dhūmāvati, Mātāṅgī, Svapnavati, Madhumati.

³² This new Vaiṣṇava movement is usually associated with the name of Caitanya, but it began before his time. See, e.g., S.K. DE, The Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal, Calcutta 1961, p. 23f.; S.C. MUKHERJĪ, A Study of Vaishnavism in Ancient and Medieval Bengal, Calcutta 1966, p. 161f. The influencing of Śākta Tantras by Vaiṣṇavism perhaps took place independently of the movement inspired by Caitanya.

³³ Ed. P.CH. TARKATĪRTHA, London 1917 (Tantrik Texts, 6). There are several Mss. (NCC IV, p. 78); the number of chapters and *ślokas* varies.

out that only twice-born are qualified to recite the sacred syllables *om* and *svāhā*. He gives a list of *mantras* which can be communicated to a Śūdra (ch. II), and also teaches a method how a “Śūdra” can become a “Vaiśya”; the *praṇava* (*om*), however, remains inaccessible to him. The Tantric antinomian rites are also attacked: in the present evil Kali age, people are unfit to practise Divyabhāva and Virabhāva, the “divine” and “heroic” states in which the adept is liberated from social and ritual conventions. Instead, they should keep themselves to Paśubhāva which means that the ritual use of alcoholics etc. is forbidden to them³⁴. The text further gives a number of *mantras* and *stotras* of Kālī and most of the other Mahāvidyās, and some meditations (*dhyanā*) and *mantras* of other deities (ch. XVIII f.). Chapter XV contains a *mantra* of subjugation in a Bengali dialect. A Vaiṣṇava tendency appears on several places. Thus, the Trailokyamohanakavaca (5, 21 f.) is especially recommended to devotees of Viṣṇu, while the chapters XXIII–XXVIII concentrate on Kṛṣṇa. This juvenile god was born from Devī as Gaurī “the Fair” who changed into her black counterpart after having been struck by Kāma’s arrow and therefore was called Kālī (here to be explained as “the Black”). The two-colour system is fully integrated in the symbolism of Kālī’s figure³⁵; after Kṛṣṇa’s birth (23, 13),

“Kālīkā’s two breasts were filled with streams of *amṛta* of twofold kind: of white colour and of the greasy black of collyrium”.

Kṛṣṇa is thereupon informed by his mother of his future role: in another world-period he will become Rādhā’s lover (24, 17 f.; cf. also 28, 37 f.). The text then proceeds with a discussion of Kāma’s five arrows and some *bijamantras*. The last chapter (XXXV), again in the form of a dialogue between Kālī and Kṛṣṇa, gives some more particulars about Kṛṣṇa’s future births.

A probably recent work, the Utpattitantra³⁶, in about 642 *ślokas*, describes various rituals and legends (i. a. Viṣṇu’s *śavasāadhanā* in Kāmarūpa). It shows a predilection for descriptions of past events in the future tense. The colophon laconically characterizes the text as “chapter 381”. The Kāmadhenutantra³⁷ (24 *paṭalas*, 666 *ślokas* in the Kaviraj edition), perhaps from sixteenth-century Bengal³⁸, inferior in style and presentation, concentrates on the alphabet as the phonic manifestation of Kālī; the letter *ka* receives special attention (chs. III and XIV). The relation between Kālī and Viṣṇu, realized in the syllable *klim*, is discussed in ch. XI. Further on, the chapters XV and XVII f. seem to be

³⁴ Ch. 4; cf. AVALON’s Introduction to the Tantric Texts ed., p. 2.

³⁵ On the binary opposition white-black, cf. GOUDRIAAN, *Māyā*, p. 169 f.

³⁶ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 76 f.; NCC II, p. 315 (one Ms.).

³⁷ Ed. G. KAVIRAJ, in: *Tantrasamgraha*, II, p. 95–160, in 24 chs.; ed. (in 21 chs.) BH. ŚARMĀ, *Prayāg V. S.* 2021 (A.D. 1964–65), (GDT, *varṣa* 2, *manī* 3); for older editions from Bengal, cf. NCC III, p. 351, or IOL-SB, II, p. 1236.—The title figures in the ATV list as No. 54.

³⁸ Estimate by FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 389.—The Ms. RASB 6032 (Cat., p. 222) is said to contain 980 *ślokas*.

directed in the first place to Vaiṣṇavas. Kṛṣṇa is considered identical with Kāma, while Kālī is his mother. The title of the text is perhaps due to the remark (in 19, 18) that the meditation on Kāminī (the phonic Kālī as Viṣṇu's mother) is a Kāmadhenu "Cow of Plenty" which renders worship fruitful. There is again an anti-*śūdra* bias in 15, 11f. It has been remarked that the first five chapters of the Kāmadhenutantra also occur separately under the title Gāyatribrāhmaṇollāsa, but it seems that we have to do with a different text³⁹.

Rather similar to the preceding work in outlook, but a little better in style and arrangement of subject-matter, is the Nirvāṇatantra⁴⁰. It contains somewhat more than 500 stanzas; the number of *paṭalas* varies from 14 to 18. It does not occur in ancient lists and is quoted only in recent *nibandhas*. Its special interest is in cosmology (chs. I and IV–X) and the rules of *varṇa* and *āśrama* (chs. XIII and XIV). Chapter III is devoted to the Gāyatrī and XI and XII to the Five Makāras (the rituals of *māṃsa* "meat", *matsya* "fish", *madya* "alcoholics", *mudrā* " parched grain"?, and *maithuna* "copulation") and their Vaiṣṇava substitutes. At the beginning of the text, Caṇḍī (the fierce form of Devī) during her intercourse with Śiva questions her partner about the Supreme Being and Its relation to the world process. The answer is that the Supreme is female, although devoid of form, and is called Vaikharī; she is identical with Kālī. The first impulse to creation becomes manifest when she splits herself up into Śiva and Śakti. As Śakti, Kālī obtains sons. There follows a curious episode of popular mythology: The two eldest sons, Brahmā and Viṣṇu, cannot find a bride. Kālī procures one for both of them (Sāvitṛī and Śrīvidyā) from her own body. After trying in vain to prevail upon her third son, Sadāśiva, to marry herself, she creates a wife also for him (Bhuvanasundarī). In the further process of creation, Viṣṇu obtains an important role: as Ananta, he establishes the worlds (*brahmāṇḍas*) on the back of his own manifestation as the Tortoise who is moving in the Ocean of Compassion (*kāruṇyam*). On several other places, Viṣṇu or Vaiṣṇava tradition receive special attention.

Kāmākhyā is a regional goddess of Assam who received fame in Tantric circles as a form of Kālī⁴¹. To her, the Kāmākhyātantra is devoted. In most Mss., it contains nine chapters and between 400 and 500 *ślokas*⁴². After a praise of the goddess and her Tantra in the introductory first chapter, her *mantra* and

³⁹ NCC, III, p. 351; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 105.

⁴⁰ Ed. G. KAVIRAJ, in: Tantrasaṃgraha, II, p. 1–52 (15 chs.); ed. BH. ŚARMĀ, Prayāg V.S. 2021 (A.D. 1964–65) as GDT, *varṇa* 2, *maṇi* 4 (14 chs.). MITRA, Notices, 3181 (cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 340f.) describes a Ms. of 524 *śl.* and 18 chs. There have been earlier editions from Bengal.—For the title Nirvāṇat., cf. 10, 49: *ato nirvāṇadā Kālī, Puruṣaḥ svargadāyakaḥ*.

⁴¹ B.K. KAKATI, The Mother Goddess Kāmākhyā, Gauhati 1948, 21961. Most of the material for this book comes from the Kālikāpurāṇa and the Yoginītantra.

⁴² RASB Cat., p. 217; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 108f.; NCC, III, p. 363 and IOL-SB, II, p. 1237. In the two latter works, no less than six old editions are listed from Bengal and Orissa.

worship are explained in the following parts of the work. The characteristic elements of the *kaula* tradition receive due attention in it.

Another famous Tantra of Kāmākhyā is the Yoginitantra, as may appear from the considerable number of Mss., the many quotations made from it and the five editions which we could trace⁴³. The text seems to date from the sixteenth century, because it refers to Viṣṇusiṃha, a ruler of Cooch Behar in the first part of that century⁴⁴; it might date from the period after 1560, when temples of Kāmākhyā and other deities were rebuilt in Assam⁴⁵. The text, of considerable length, consists of two clearly separate parts (*khaṇḍa*). The first part, comprising 19 chapters and 1293 ślokas, deals with Tantric subjects in general; the second or Uttarakhāṇḍa in nine chapters and 1514 ślokas (in K. Miśra's edition) in the manner of a Sthalapurāṇa presents a detailed description of the sacred region of Kāmarūpa and the many *tīrthas* found in it. But also Part I contains a great deal of information, mostly of legendary character, about that famous resort of the Goddess.

It is worthwhile to give a succinct survey of the contents of Part I. Its first chapters are devoted to the praise and description of Kālī and her *vidyā*, and to some ritual particulars. In ch. III there follow *kavacas* and a *mantra* of Tārā inscribed in a *yantra*, to be applied for various practical purposes. A part of ch. IV (vs. 27–37) enumerates the different kinds of alcoholic mixtures and their application in *ṣaṭkarma* rites. These rites, especially *mārana* (liquidation) are further discussed in the rest of the chapter. In ch. V, some special *sādhana*s are described, such as the Bilvamūlasādhana (26f.); in this context the question rises why Lakṣmī became a *bilva*. It appears that she incarnated herself into that tree in order to worship the Rāmeśvara *liṅga* for gaining the upper hand over her rival Sarasvatī. Chapter VI deals with the yoga of *sādhakas* of *divya* and *vīra* status. In the first variety, the body is concentrated upon as the universe; the second type of yoga implies that one realizes the Kāmakaḷā (triad of Śiva, Śakti and their union) within the body. Also the five Makāras come to the fore. There are i.a. regulations about the choice of female partners: a *brahman* woman should never be the partner of a man of lower social status, and so on (6,37f.). The Makāras can also be interpreted symbolically (6,68f.). The Svapnavatī and other *vidyās* are dealt with in chapter VII; by mastering the Svapnavatī one is able to behold everything in one's dream. The next chapters again resemble the Purāṇas. The subject is the origin of the Yoginīs out of Kālī's wrath during her battle with a demon, and Śiva's vision of the cosmos

⁴³ Ed. in the Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1877–81; ed. N. VANDYOPĀDHYĀYA, Calcutta 1294 B.S. (A.D. 1887); ed. J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1897; ed. K. BHATṬĀCĀRYYA, Calcutta 1307 B.S. (A.D. 1900); ed. K. MIŚRA, Bombay V.S. 1960 (A.D. 1893–94); new ed. Kalyan-Bombay 1957.—For the Mss., cf. also Assam Cat., p. 93f.—The title occurs as No. 30 in the ATV list.

⁴⁴ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 354; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 23.

⁴⁵ M. NEOG, Śaṅkaradeva and His Times, Gauhati 1965, p. 82, n. 97.

and the row of letters (*varṇāvali*) within Kālī's heart-lotus; Brahmā and Viṣṇu originate from two drops of sweat on Kālī's body and by a special act of her grace Śiva is allowed to become her seat as a corpse (*śava*). Kālī then orders the three gods to work out creation, which, however, remains only her *māyā* (ch. X). In chapter XI the subject changes to the places where the Goddess manifests herself. After a short praise of Kālī's favourite cremation ground which appears to be Vārāṇasī, the rest of the chapter is devoted to a description of Kāmarūpa. In connection with this famous *tirtha*, chapter XII relates the legend of the *asura* Naraka, a son of Viṣṇu and the Earth. As a devotee of Kāmākhyā, he committed the sin of causing Vasiṣṭha, who also wanted to adore the goddess, to wait until his own *pūjā* was completed. The goddess, cursed by the sage, took her refuge with her husband on Mt. Kailāsa; he destroyed the curse by muttering the Kālikāmantra on her *yonipīṭha* (the place where her genitals once fell down on earth: Kāmarūpa), and established her as before on that spot. Further circumstances of the curse and the release are related in the next chapters; the author also finds occasion to expatiate on the necessity of worship of brahmans, cows, and girls in pre-puberty age (*kumārī*; 13, 35f.), and on the praise of traditional values of Hinduism. Chapter XIV deals with the temporary rule of Mlecchas in Kāmarūpa; XV with the question as to how Kālī became Kāmākhyā; a legend of Keśīpura is told in the process. The circumstances of Kālī's origin are related in XVI; her manifestation as Kumārī (and *kumārī* worship) in XVII. The last two chapters of Part I give the histories of two devotees of Kālī called Kahola and Karālabhairava.

In conclusion one can say that the Yoginītantra is a precious source of all kinds of legendary, semi-historical and topographical traditions about the Goddess, written in simple but agreeable Sanskrit; in short, one of the most readable Tantras.

Besides Kālī, who is considered the first of the ten "classical" Mahāvidyās, (and Śoḍaśī who is an aspect of Tripurasundarī), a few other goddesses from this series, in the first place Tārā, obtained descriptions of their cult in Tantras. As a rule, these works are of late date and seem to hail from Bengal or adjacent areas. There has already been occasion to refer to the Toḍalatantra⁴⁶ which mentioned the ten Mahāvidyās as a group. A more methodical treatment of the subject is found in the Muṇḍamālātantra "Tantra of the Garland of Skulls"⁴⁷. It deals with the worship of the ten Mahāvidyās in general and separately (from ch. VI onwards). The author also points out (ch. IV) why Caṇḍikā who is the recipient of the tribute (*bali*) during the worship of the Great Goddess is content with this gift of a lower order.

⁴⁶ See above, p. 81.

⁴⁷ No edition known to me. There are 15 chs. and 550 *śloka*s in the Ms. RASB 5972 (Cat., p. 163f.). There are several Mss., mostly with a smaller number of chapters. Cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 519 and 494 (s.v. Mahā-); Orissa Cat., Nos. 83 and 84.

Tārā, the second Mahāvidyā, whose identity with Kālī is often declared, can boast of a Tārātantra⁴⁸, a short dialogue between Bhairava and Bhairavī which in six chapters describes the *mantra* of Ugratārā “the Fierce Tārā” and her daily worship. The introductory part alludes to the *sādhanā* performed by Buddha (a manifestation of Viṣṇu) and Vasiṣṭha by means of the said *mantra*. Another very short text, the Kaulatantra⁴⁹, is divided into a Tārākalpa and a Kālīkalpa, but the major part is occupied by the former. The Tantra is said to have been originally proclaimed by god Buddha. Śaṅkara taught it to his pupil Bhairava and to Devī Bhairavī, who, however, requested Bhairava to relate it again for the salvation of humanity. Bhairava’s first teaching is that Tārā is threefold, viz. (the *mantras* of) Ugratārā, Ekajaṭā and Nilasarasvatī.

A more detailed guide to the Tārā tradition is the Matsyasūkta, or rather the Ugratārākalpa or Tārākalpa from this text, in ten chapters and about 650 *ślokas*⁵⁰. The setting is Vaiṣṇava. After an invocation of Kṛṣṇa, Nandavaṭuka questions Parāśara after Tārā’s secret ritual. Parāśara in his turn had questioned Virūpākṣa on the matter, and in the last colophon the whole work is attributed to that latter manifestation of Śiva. The text contains information on various aspects of Tārā worship. In chapter IV, Gorakṣa questions Parāśara on the means of destroying illness; chapter VIII is on the *virasādhanā* of Tārā. It seems that the Matsyasūkta was a much larger compilation because much more voluminous Mss. are known under this title⁵¹, while there are many quotations elucidating various subjects. The word *matsya* “Fish” might suggest an original connection with the *kaula* school founded by Matsyendranātha.

At least two texts share the common title Nilatantra. The first of them in its turn is preserved in at least two versions. A Ms. from the ASB⁵² is written in correct Sanskrit in a sometimes even fluent style (although the diction is also often unclear) and in 17 chapters and 700 *ślokas* describes aspects of the worship of Nīlā, who seems to be considered identical with Ugratārā. Devī asks her partner about the means of release from the ocean of existence, and Bhairava declares that Nīlā is the most important among the many manifestations of Prakṛti, the female ground of the universe. But the attitude towards other deities is of the well-known inclusivistic tolerance:

⁴⁸ Ed. at Rajshahi 1913 (Varendra Res. Soc.); about ten Mss. have been recorded in the NCC, VIII, 154. A short description of the text by H. P. SHASTRI, *Notices*, I, 146.

⁴⁹ The data have been taken from the Ms. RASB 5934, which contains four chs. and a hundred *ślokas*. Cf. also NCC, V, p. 112.

⁵⁰ The data have been taken from the Ms. RASB 5997 (Cat., p. 192f.).

⁵¹ MITRA, *Notices*, II, 608, describes a Ms. of nearly 4000 *ślokas* and 26 chs. purporting to be chs. XXXV–LX of the Uparibhāga or Second Part. It chiefly deals with questions of (im)purity, expiations and *vratas*. The colophon of a similar Ms. in the “old collection” of the RASB attributes the work to HALĀYUDHA (Cat., l.c.); the same in Orissa Cat., V, p. 154; Suppl. No. 46.

⁵² No. 5949. Cat., p. 138f.—The title occurs as No. 4 in the ATV list.

“One should meditate on the unity of Devī, Śiva, Viṣṇu and the other deities; he who maintains a distinction between them, that evil man goes to the Raurava hell” (12, 16);

but also (13, 1):

“A Śākta is Śaṅkara (Śiva) in his own person and participates in the nature of Supreme Brahman”.

The description of the Goddess' daily worship follows, beginning with the matutinal rites (*prātaḥkr̥tya*). The subject is continued up to ch. 9, interrupted by some special regulations such as a *yantra* of destructive power in ch. 4. Among other topics treated are *dīkṣā*, *puraścaraṇa* (“preparation” of mantras), and a list of earlier Tantras (including the Yoni, Guru, Nirvāṇa, Vira and Kulodḍīśa) in ch. 14. Another version of the Nilatantra in twelve chapters contains largely the same matter in a different ordering (ch. 9: Mahācīnakrama; ch. 11: Kumāripūjā). This version has been edited⁵³.

Another text called Nilatantra is represented by an incorrect ASB manuscript (No. 5950). It contains 15 chapters and 750 *ślokas* and likewise describes the worship of Tārā. Here the Devī directly asks for the Nilatantra which is duly praised by Śiva before he communicates the *vidyā* of Nīlasarasvatī in five syllables (the *ṛṣi* who revealed it on earth is again Vasiṣṭha). From the contents we mention that the eighth and ninth chapters discuss the three *bhāvas* (psychic situations), especially that of a *vira*, while different manifestations of Tārā are found in chapter X. A *stotra*, *kāvaca* and *mantras* for various purposes follow in XI; the Six Acts in XII; Cāmuṇḍā's worship in XIII and the Mahācīnakrama in XV. It seems that there is still another Nilatantra which is devoted to Dakṣiṇakālī⁵⁴.

A voluminous text called Nibandhatantra⁵⁵ is divided into four *kalpas* named after Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sarasvatī and Śakti. Actually it mainly concentrates on Nīlasarasvatī.

There is a textual problem with the Viratantra. Of three Mss. which are present under this title in the ASB library⁵⁶, only the first four chapters agree (a fourth Ms. appears to be closely related to the Kālitatantra). The main pre-occupation of the text is with the worship of Tārā and Dakṣiṇakālī. A short text bearing the title Viratantra, recorded from Nepal, is, however, a *nibandha* on the worship of Chinnamastā⁵⁷; still another one in 420 *ślokas* deals with the Six Acts of magic⁵⁸.

⁵³ Ed. R. M. CHATTOPADHYAYA, Calcutta 1877–84 (in: Tantrasāra), and U. TARKATNA/T. NYĀYARATNA, Calcutta 1886 (in: Sulabhatantraprakāśa); ed. BH. ŚARMĀ, Prayāg V. S. 2022 (A. D. 1965–66; GDT, *varṣa* 2, *maṇi* 6).

⁵⁴ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 343.

⁵⁵ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 338; the Ms. RASB No. 5992 contains 314 fol. and 7838 *ślokas* according to the Catalogue.

⁵⁶ RASB Cat., p. XIX, 122f.; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 62.—The title Viratantra occurs as No. 5 in the ATV list.

⁵⁷ Nepal Cat., II, p. 125.

⁵⁸ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 602, referring to MITRA, Notices, p. 268.

A Tantra devoted to Bhuvaneśvarī bears the title Māyātāntṛa (Māyā is another name of that goddess: Māyāt. 2,9)⁵⁹. Without being questioned by Devī, Īśvara announces “another truth”. This strange beginning strongly suggests that what follows originally formed a part of a larger whole. In a Purāṇa-like introduction, Īśvara describes how creation came into being when the Māyā emanated from his meditation. In the form of a fig-leaf, she supported Viṣṇu when he reclined on the primeval waters. That god, identical with Śiva, was praised by the never-dying ṛṣi Mārkaṇḍeya (motif taken from Mbh. 3, 187, 77 f.) who as a resulting boon obtained the faculty for beholding Brahmā during the further work of creation. Viṣṇu, satisfied by Māyā’s supporting activity, proclaims that she will henceforth have the form of Dharma (1, 21 f.), who can be worshipped by means of the *mantra Dhaṃ Dharmāya namaḥ*. The second chapter then takes up the worship of Māyā or Bhuvaneśvarī. Noteworthy features are Māyā’s identification with Rādhā (2, 5); the secret of the solar and lunar *parvans* of the Suṣumnā (chapter VI; the sun resides in the Mūlādhāra, the moon in the Sahasrāra: 6, 9); a special *mantra* of three syllables destined for the Yavanas “who delight in impure food and evil conduct” (7, 35 f.; probably the Moslems are meant); various *sādhanaś* in the chapters VIII–XV. It is not clear what the relation is between this text and the Bhuvaneśvarītantra preserved in several Mss. in Nepal⁶⁰.

The eighth Mahāvidyā, called Bagalā(mukhī) or Vagalā(mukhī), originally probably a regional goddess, is the subject in the Śāṅkhyaṇatantra⁶¹. Its title misleadingly suggests a connection with the Vedic school of the Śāṅkhāyanas. In its complete form it contains 34 or 38 chapters and about 1200 *ślokaś*. In the outward form of a dialogue between Śiva and his son Kumāra, it communicates (initiation into) the *vidyāś* of Bagalāmukhī who is the personification of the Brahmāstra (“Missile of Brahman”, a supernatural weapon utilized i. a. in the Bhārata war), and the worship of that goddess with special reference to the execution of magical powers by her grace. The goddess’ speciality is the faculty of immobilizing an enemy (*stambhana*); this is also expressed by her predilection for the yellow colour.

The Kātyāyanitantra is devoted to the Durgā manifestation of that name. The text attained some fame because it has been commented upon three times (i. a. by Nilakaṇṭha, son of Raṅgabhaṭṭa), while several (about thirteen) minor texts ascribe themselves to it, but it does not seem to have been edited as yet.

⁵⁹ No. 56 in the ATV list. No edition known to me. For the Mss., see KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 513. The data have been taken from the Ms. RASB 5985, which contains 12 chs. and 432 *ślokaś*. There are Mss. with only seven chapters. The text recorded by H. P. SHASTRI, Notices, I, p. 285, seems to be different (17 chapters).

⁶⁰ Information obtained thanks to the Nepal-German Mss. Preservation Project.

⁶¹ No edition known, but there are several Mss., cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 623, s. v. Śāṅkhyaṇatantra; the same, p. 690; Orissa Cat., V, No. 118 and 119; RASB Cat., Nos. 6084–87; IOL Cat., IV, 2537.

H. P. Sastri⁶² describes a Ms. of 588 *ślokas*, a dialogue between Śiva and Gaurī, in which other forms of Durgā are mentioned besides Kātyāyanī. Of the Vānadurgākalpa, only a very few Mss. seem to have been preserved⁶³. It was taught to Agastya by Guha (Skanda) who had heard it himself from Haimavati (his mother Umā, Durgā's benign manifestation).

A Kālānalatantra, preserved in Nepal⁶⁴, teaches *mantras* and worship of Siddhilakṣmī. The speaker is Nilalohita (Śiva), Nārada the hearer. It is claimed (1,3) that the Tantra is a direct continuation of the Yāmala tradition. There is much attention to Dikṣā (chs. 5f.), daily worship (10f.) and *mantras* (2f., 22f.). The text does not seem to be old; the Ms. bears the date N.S. 857 (1737 A.D.; struck out by a later hand). It might be added here that Devī as Kāla "Destructive Time", one of the oldest functions of Kālī, has been described in the Samayātāntra which probably contained ten *paṭalas* and about 1200 *ślokas*⁶⁵.

The name of Vārāhī, one of the Seven Mothers⁶⁶, is borne by at least two Tantras; there are quotations under this name in many compilations. According to Farquhar, the Vārāhitantra was written in Bengal in about the sixteenth century⁶⁷, but it is not clear which text was meant by him. The Nepal Ms. described by H. P. Sastri⁶⁸ contains a voluminous but corrupt text of 4600 *ślokas* divided over 36 chapters. It consists of a discussion between Caṇḍabhairava and Guhyakālī located in the Kāmarūpapīṭha; Vārāhī herself is said (fol. 3b) to reside in the Cauhārapīṭha⁶⁹. The text opens with a confused relation in abominable Sanskrit on the origin of the Vārāhimantra: Durvāsas was the first to apply it for the benefit of the victims of Viḍāla's aggression, well-known from the Rāmāyaṇa. The further contents are ritualistic: information on matters pertaining to *dikṣā*, *mantra* lore and worship of various deities. The eclecticism of the text is convincingly illustrated by the fact that a large part of it is no

⁶² H. P. SASTRI, Notices, II, p. 31, according to KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 98. Cf. also NCC, III, p. 331. Most of the Mss. seem to be incomplete.

⁶³ The Ms. RASB No. 6067 contains about 500 *ślokas* and 16 chapters. A Ms. from Trivandrum in 15 *paṭalas* is said to contain about 1000 *ślokas*.

⁶⁴ Nepal Cat., II, 117. It is written in many different hands; the Sanskrit is incorrect.

⁶⁵ In the RASB Ms. No. 5924, the tenth and last chapter is incomplete. Other Mss. mentioned in KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 683, are much shorter.—The Samayātāntra occurs as No. 13 in the ATV list.

⁶⁶ On these, cf. J. N. BANERJEA, The Development of Hindu Iconography, Calcutta 1956, p. 503f.; M.-Th. DE MALLMANN, Les enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purāṇa, Paris 1963, p. 150f.

⁶⁷ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 389.—The Vārāhitantra is No. 28 in the ATV list.

⁶⁸ Nepal Cat., II, p. 186.

⁶⁹ The name of this *pīṭha* occurs in JT 5,66f. in an interesting list of eight. Cf. SIRCAR, Śākta Pīṭhas, p. 18. Its occurrence in the Vārāhitantra proves that Cauhāra is not a wrong reading in the JT, as SIRCAR assumed.

more than a collection of fragments from other Tantras⁷⁰. The Ms. breaks off at the end of chapter XXXVI, and that is where the *pūrvakhaṇḍa* "Part One" ends according to the colophon. From the colophons to the chapters it appears that the Vārāhitantra reckons itself to the Dakṣiṇāmnāya, a statement which betrays its relative lateness because in the older tradition this Āmnāya is reserved for the Bhairavatantras. R. Mitra⁷¹ describes a text of 50 chapters and 2545 *ślokas* which contains a lengthy description of the size and characteristics of various genres of Tantric literature. This subject is lacking in the Nepalese version, and if the text described by Mitra belongs to the same Tantra, it must contain the Uttarakhaṇḍa. Another Vārāhitantra of about 500 *ślokas* in eight chapters is a Vaiṣṇava text, a dialogue between Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā; but it also contains information on Mahādeva and Candī⁷².

⁷⁰ For instance, ch. 10 contains a passage on the three *saṃketas* of Tripurasundarī taken (with omissions and corruptions) from YH, chs. 1 and 2; ch. 11 of the Vārāhitantra contains agreements with the Jñānasamkalinītantra; chs. 16–21 = Cīñcinī-matasārasamuccaya; ch. 22 = Parātantra, ch. 2; passage on magic in ch. 23 is from the ŚT.

⁷¹ MITRA, Notices, 2481, according to KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 591.

⁷² KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 591 (no source given).

CHAPTER V

SOME OTHER KAULA TANTRAS AND TANTRAS ON RESTRICTED SUBJECTS

In this chapter have been put together some Śākta Tantras which declare themselves to be Kaula or which clearly belong to this tradition without being exclusively devoted to Śrī/Tripurasundari, Kālī or related goddesses. Besides, a number of usually small texts which claim a position as “Original Tantra” are in reality no more than monographs on some special aspect of Tantrism; they also are dealt with here. The contents of this chapter are therefore somewhat heterogeneous, but this is not to say that we have here in a kind of appendix collected the spurious or unimportant. On the contrary, some of the works dealt with below have been very influential and famous throughout the later period of the tradition. In the present state of research, the chronological order, relative as well as absolute, cannot be definitely established; the titles have been presented in a sequence which seems at least sensible.

The Kulacūḍāmaṇitantra became better known by its edition in Avalon’s series¹. It may be fairly old; it is quoted in several digests and its title occurs as No. 53 in the list of 64 Tantras in the NSA, although it is not certain if this applies to the same text which we now know under this name. In its edited form, the text contains seven chapters and only 430 stanzas; but some Mss. have more. The Sanskrit is unpretentious but reasonable. The main concern of the work is to promulgate the Kaula cult and its duties rather than the greatness of Kālī. The latter is said to be only one of the three manifestations of the Goddess, the other two being (Durgā) Maḥiṣamardini, considered “basic”, and Tripurabhairavī, called “the first” (*ādyā*, 7, 37). A striking external feature of this Tantra is that it presents Devī (Bhairavī) as the proclaimer and Śiva (Bhairava) as the hearer; it therefore falls into the Nigama class². Before formulating his questions, Bhairava enumerates a series of 64 Tantras which were proclaimed in the past; the list strongly resembles that of the NSA. Devī begins her exposition by declaring that she is the supreme Prakṛti who emanates the whole series of constituents of creation (*tattvas*) and envelops all by her Māyā.

¹ Ed. G. CH. VEDĀNTATĪRTHA, Calcutta and London 1915 (Tantrik Texts, Vol. 4), 1956 Madras, as “Kulacūḍāmaṇi-nigama”, with a survey of contents by A. K. MAITRA in the Introduction. There are about ten Mss.: NCC, IV, p. 234. The title means “Crest-jewel of Kula”; the word Tantra has been added afterwards.

² See also above, p. 5, n. 19.

Addressing her husband as *putra* "my son", she proceeds by giving a survey of *kulācāra*, the daily ritual duties of the Kaula adept, beginning with the matutinal rites. In this context the initiation by the *sādhaka* of his wife or another woman as his *śakti* "ritual partner" is treated in chapters II and III. The presence of such a *śakti* is necessary for a successful application of the *kulamantras* (3, 11). These *śaktis* are entertained with food; there may be eight of them, who should be worshipped and praised as the eight *Mātrkās*, *Brahmāṇī* etc.³ All rites of this kind should be performed at night. *Piṭhapūjā* is then described in 3, 59f. and the worship of beings and objects sacred to a Kaula in chapter IV. A nocturnal rite of *Kālī* is discussed in vss. 35f. of that chapter, while the next one treats of another worship of this goddess (in her form of *Dakṣiṇakālī*) with a view to the manipulation of demons and human beings. *Vetālasiddhi*, which is the power to go anywhere one pleases, by means of *śavasāadhanā* is the subject in VI, and worship of *Durgā Mahiṣamardini* in VII, where we also find (7, 22f.) a *stotra* in *śārdūlavikrīḍitā* metre⁴. At the end there is an emphatic declaration by *Devī* that

"the entire creation is brought forth by the union of *Śiva* and *Śakti*; the All everything which exists on earth, consists of *Śiva* and *Śakti*; therefore, Thou art everywhere and I am everywhere; Thou art All and I am All".

The *Kulārṇavatāntara*⁵ (KT) is without doubt the most important of its class. The text is quoted very often; but the quotations—which often go under the name *Ūrdhvāmnāyatantra*—are not always traceable⁶. There are numerous Mss. and several editions⁷. According to the colophons, the text constitutes only the fifth *khaṇḍa* called *mokṣapāda* (or: *-vāda*) of an original *Kulārṇavatāntara* of 125.000 *ślokas*, but the text as it stands comprises seventeen chapters and about 2060 *ślokas*⁸. It presents a wealth of information on rituals and ideology

³ A variety of the series of "Seven Mothers"; cf. n. 66 on ch. IV. The hymn of praise directed to them, called *Karṇejapastotra* (3, 35–45), has been translated by A. K. MAITRA, *Introd. to Pandit VEDĀNTATĪRTHA's* ed., 1956, p. 9f.

⁴ Trsl. AVALON, in the Introduction to the edition, p. 16f. Another translation in A. and E. AVALON's "Hymns to the Goddess", Madras 1952 (repr. 1973), p. 56f.

⁵ *Kulārṇava* "Ocean of Kula"; the title is sometimes given as *Kulārṇavarahasya*, e.g. in BORI Cat., p. 116f.

⁶ Such is the case with the quotations by KṢEMARĀJA on NT 16, 34 and NT 18, 119; these must refer to a different text.—Another, younger, *Ūrdhvāmnāyatantra* deals with the nature of the human body, Brahman, etc.: RASB No. 5962. There is also a *Kālyūrdhvāmnāyatantra* (RASB No. 5963) which is identical or not with the preceding. For a Vaiṣṇava *Ūrdhvāmnāyatantra*, see below, p. 109.

⁷ The best known edition is by TĀRĀNĀTHA VIDYĀRATNA, London 1917 (*Tantrik Texts*, V), Madras 1965; of the other editions, we mention those by J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1882, 1897; and by BH. ŚARMĀ, Prayāga 1963 (GDT). For more particulars, see NCC, IV, p. 244f.; G. CARLSTEDT, *Studier i Kulārṇava-Tantra*, Uppsala 1974 (SURIU, 14), p. 9.—A different *Kulārṇavatāntara* or *Kulācārarahasya* in 12 chs. is referred to by CH. CHAKRAVARTI, ABORI 13, p. 208f.

⁸ CARLSTEDT, *Studier*, p. 13, who also refers to CH. CHAKRAVARTI, *Kulārṇava Tantra: Its Extent and Contents*, ABORI 13, 1931–32, p. 206–11.

of the Kaula sect; it is also one of the small number of Tantras which manages to do so in the form of a set of clear and systematically ordered prescriptions, a circumstance which without any doubt contributed much to its popularity. The style is lucid and the language generally correct, although a final verdict has to be postponed until after the appearance of a critical edition⁹. In the text the emphasis is laid on the greatness of the Kula tradition which considers the world as brought about by and representative of the union of Śiva and Śakti. The *mantra* most suited to express this mystery is the *biṣa sauḥ* called by the name Parāprāsāda¹⁰. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact date of the text. The most recent estimation is between about 1000 and 1400 A. D.¹¹.

As has been proved by Carlstedt, the first chapter (*jīvasthītikathanam*), which in proverbial and sometimes cynical statements describes the plight of living beings in the cycle of rebirths, is in the main identical with chapter XVI of the Garuḍapurāṇasāroddhāra¹². It is still an undecided question which of the two versions is the borrower, although a borrowing by the KT can be argued more easily; perhaps both go back to another source. An idea of the contents may be furnished by st. 94:

“They recite Vedic texts, they try to impart insight to each other; they are ignorant about the supreme truth just as a sacrificial ladle does not experience the taste of the oblation”.

After this prologue, there is another introduction in the form of an elaborate encomium of the Kula way of life in chapter II. This *dharma*, declares Īśvara (Śiva) on Devī's question, is the highest of all systems of conduct (he enumerates the seven *ācāras*, although he does not use that term¹³). It is a great secret handed down “from ear to ear”, i.e. in an esoteric teacher-pupil tradition. Although its position is far higher than that of the Vedas, the Kuladharmā is not their denial:

“Having churned the great ocean of the Vedas and the Āgamas with wisdom as My churning stick, I drew up the Kuladharmā from it, intuitively discerning what was essential”.

⁹ The problem of the original correctness of the KT and related texts has been discussed by CARLSTEDT, Studier, p. 16f.

¹⁰ See also Tantrāloka 30, 27f. (Parāmantra); MVT 3, 54f.; 4, 25.

¹¹ CARLSTEDT, Studier, p. 15. The same scholar laid the foundation for a critical edition of the KT in: Studier, p. 31f. (crit. ed. of chs. 1 and 2 from about 20 Mss.); he also translated these chapters into Swedish: Hinduistik livssyn, Uppsala 1971 (SURIU, 8; trsl. of ch. 1, under the name ANDERSSON); Till Kulas Lov, Uppsala 1974 (SURIU, 13; trsl. of ch. 2).

¹² Trsl. E. ABEGG, Der Pretakalpa des Garuḍa-Purāṇa, Berlin and Leipzig 1921; Berlin 1956; E. WOOD/S. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, The Garuḍa Purāṇa (Sāroddhāra), Allahabad 1911 (SBH, 9). Many stanzas are found in older sources, e.g. the Mbh.; several of them recur in the RY-UT: CARLSTEDT, Studier, p. 49f.

¹³ The seven *ācāras* are those of the Vedas, Viṣṇuism, Śivaism, Dakṣiṇa, Vāma, Siddhānta and Kaula. The last four of them are Śākta.

This chapter is indeed remarkable. It is again built up by means of separate pronouncements, each of them as a rule consisting of one *śloka*; often, there are illustrations by similes. At the end (st. 113f.) it is shown that those who equate the Kuladharma with licentiousness are utterly wrong and blinded by Māyā; the last four stanzas (140f.) give quotations from the Veda which are held to endorse the Kula view. In the third chapter the same way of arguing is continued but the focus is narrowed to the Ūrdhvāmnāya to which the KT claims to belong (3, 1–47). It is important to notice that this deviates from the Āmnāya system as presented by the Parātantra (see above, p. 77) where the Ūrdhvāmnāya was associated with the Śrividya. In the KT it is intimately connected with the already mentioned Parāprāsādamantra. An initiate of this tradition is the most honourable of all people; his parents are happy, his grandparents are saved.

“Where he lives, O Goddess, there will be welfare and victory, health and nourishment; timely rain and absence of calamity” (3, 39).

In the rest of the chapter, the Parāprāsādamantra is extolled. Other *mantras* applied without this one are like food without salt (vs. 58); it incorporates the indissoluble unity of Śiva and Śakti. A sixfold *nyāsa* of the *mantra* as a preparation to worship is expounded in chapter IV which is rather technical. Before describing the worship itself the text expatiates (in chapter V) on the utensils and the sacred substances (*kuladravya*), especially alcoholics of different kinds (5, 11–43) and meat (5, 44–55); both of them are circumstantially praised. The adept should always be aware that the alcoholic beverage = Śakti, the meat = Śiva, and their consumer = Bhairava. Due emphasis is laid on the true state of mind which is the *conditio sine qua non* of these rituals; thus, the wine becomes nectar only for him who has tasted the internal Amṛta which flows as a result of the union of the internal Śakti, the Kuṇḍalinī, and the Moon of Consciousness (5, 106f.).

The worship proper, the details of which are omitted here, is then described (chapter VI). It is directed to the primeval pair and the Parāprāsādamantra which represents it. The attendant deities, especially Vaṭuka, Kṣetrapāla and Ucchiṣṭacāṇḍālī, should also be carefully worshipped by means of a tribute of solid food (*bali*; first part of chapter VII). A special feature of the Kaula method is the worship of a human female as the incarnation of the universal Śakti (*śaktipūjā*; 7, 36–57). The rules for ritual eating and drinking involve the consecration of the *sādhaka*'s body by the guru (7, 63–103). The seven stages of joy (*ullāsa*; ch. 8) gone through by the ideal adept during his spiritual exercises are among the most remarkable features of this Tantra. Their description is interwoven with rules for certain ceremonies which are to be performed in any of these stages. The Śāntistava (8, 30–54) directed to Bhairava and other Kula deities and partly written in the Sragdharā and Śārdūlavikṛitā metres, is meant to precede ritual drinking.

The ninth chapter is devoted to the description of yoga and the yogin. Its

greater part is a remarkable collection of concise, often astute and striking, semi-proverbial pronouncements, e.g. in st. 77:

“Just as the wind which touches everything,
just as the sky which is everywhere;
just as all the fluvial waters,
in the same way the yogin is always pure (no matter what he touches or does)”.

There are rituals for special occasions (i.a. Kumārīpūjā; Mithunārcana or worship of pairs) in chapter X; in XI, various prescriptions for the Kula adept, especially his behaviour towards women:

“one should never criticize a Kula woman, saying: ‘she is ugly’, or: ‘she is dark’” (st. 62b).

In this same chapter we also come across the famous remark that one should be a Kaula in one’s heart, a Śaiva by external behaviour and a Vaiṣṇava among the people (st. 83a). Further subjects dealt with by the text include the position of the guru (chapter XII); the sacred lore to be mastered by him arranged systematically according to numbers: sextuples, triads etc. (XII and XIII); the kinds of *dikṣā* (XIV); the mastery of *mantras* and the method of recitation (XV); the execution of special powers with the help of *mantras* (XVI); and the mystical meaning of important terms (XVII). One instance from the latter chapter may suffice to give an impression of the method applied: the word *svāmin* “master” is to be explained from *svāntaḥśānti* “internal peace” and *mithyājñānavihīna* “free from false knowledge”. The work is rounded off with words of praise directed to the tradition and some rules for maintaining its secrecy.

The works following now cannot for the greater part stand in the shadow of the KT for their language, method of presentation or authority; that is why they will be treated as succinctly as possible¹⁴.

The Guptasāadhanatantra is mostly preserved in Bengali Mss.¹⁵. It usually contains twelve chapters and about 400 *ślokas*; it discusses a variety of Kaula subjects. The Mātrkābhedanatantra refers to it. The latter text¹⁶, the name of which already occurs in the lists of the NSA and the KulCT (as Nos. 38 and 35 resp.; title Mātrbheda), in its present form probably cannot boast of the

¹⁴ A Calcutta Ms. (RASB 5865; Cat., p. 61) bearing the title Kaulāvalītantra seems to be little more than a collection of extracts from the KT and other original Tantras.

¹⁵ Individual Mss. are from Orissa (Orissa Cat., No. 13) and Nepal (Nepal Cat., II, p. 146f.).—The text was edited by R.M. CHATTERJI in the Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1881–6; 1903; in 12 chs.; by BALDEVPRASĀD MIŚRA, Bombay (Lakṣmīvenkaṭeśvara Press) 1909; reprints. For other editions from Bengal, see the NCC, VI, p. 62.

¹⁶ Ed. in 15 chs. by R.M. CHATTERJI in Vividhatantrasaṃgraha; in 14 chs. and 600 *ślokas* by CHINTAMANI BHATTACHARYA, Calcutta 1933 (Calc. Skt. Ser., VII); in 15 chs. by BH. ŚARMĀ, Prayāga V.S. 2017 (= A.D. 1960/61; GDT, varṣa 1, maṇi 1); there are other old editions from Bengal. On the numerous Mss. (among them a Jammu Ms. in 19 paṭalas), see KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 510.

early date suggested by this situation. Its setting is a questioning of Śiva by Caṇḍikā; its Sanskrit is again reasonable, but unpretentious. The text is of a clearly secondary character: it discusses a great number of subjects by way of further illustrations of or additions to rules which were revealed in Tantras of the past (there are references to the Nityā, Vāmakeśvara, Guptasādhana and Toḍala Tantras). Thus, Chapter I treats the method of obtaining golden ornaments (advised for the worship of Tripurā by i.a. the JT) by alchemical methods¹⁷. Among other topics dealt with are: the circumstances of procreation (chapter II); how final emancipation can be obtained through enjoyment (III), with special emphasis on alcoholics (*kāraṇam*; III and IV); preparation of mercury (*pāradam*, V); the worship of Cāmuṇḍā/Kālī during emergency situations, especially eclipses of the sun and moon (explained as kisses by Śiva on Śakti's eyes); aspects of the ritual of Tripurasundarī (VII); worship of the *liṅga*, by preference one of mercury, as a concomitant to worship of the Goddess (VII and VIII); preparation of mixtures containing minerals (IX); regulations for an animal sacrifice to Kālī (X) and for the dedication of wells, buildings etc. to that deity (XI); the relative effectivity of worship with *śālagrāma* stones, *yantras*, images, and the *liṅga* (XII); *japa* and the rosary (XIII); the three Bhāvas and description of a female adept (*virikā*, XIV). Although this text pays ample attention to Tripurā (and Śiva), it seems to consider Kālī to be the primeval deity from the sweat of whose body the Śaktis of Brahmā (Sāvitṛī), Viṣṇu (Lakṣmī) and Śambhu (Tripurā) have originated (12, 35f.).

The title Uttaratānta "Further (or: Second) Treatise" is so vague that various works or parts of works will have circulated under it; there are a great number of references, quotations and ascriptions to this title¹⁸. The best known case is the Uttaratānta of the Rudrayāmala (for which see above, p. 47) and this text may be the one which figures as No. 3 in the ATV list. A Ms. of 16 *paṭalas* and 500 *ślokas* with the same title deals with Kaula ritual and worship of the Mahāvidyās; it may be different or not from another one in 10 *paṭalas* which also deals with Kulācāra¹⁹; there is also an "Uttarakalpa from the Uttaratānta" from Orissa in three chapters, mainly dealing with guru worship and initiation²⁰.

It is not clear if the name of No. 38 in the ATV list, Viśvasāratānta (or Viśvasāra "Essence of Everything") corresponds with an original Tantra. What we now possess under this title cannot properly be called a Tantra, because it bears the characteristics of an encyclopedic digest. In 8 *paṭalas* and 5108 *ślokas* it presents material on all kinds of Kaula subjects²¹. It is also said to contain

¹⁷ The survey of contents of the Mātrkābheda-tānta follows the order of the chapters in BHATTACHARYA's edition.

¹⁸ NCC, II, p. 303f.

¹⁹ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 74f.

²⁰ Orissa Cat., No. 11.

²¹ Survey of contents by R. MITRA, Notices, 3192, condensed in KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 598.

another list of 64 Tantras²². There is, however, a Vaiṣṇava work, a dialogue Śiva-Pārvatī, which describes the legendary life of Caitanya as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa under the name Gūḍhāvatāra; it does so while ascribing itself to the Uttarakhaṇḍa of the Viśvasāratantra.²³

One of the Tantras which are usually only known from casual remarks or quotations is the Merutantra²⁴. Although it has more than once been regarded as a late work because the town of London is said to be mentioned in it, it is possible that at least its core goes further back. But it does not appear in any traditional list of Tantras and there are not many quotations; it is, however, mentioned in the Siddhanāgārjunakakṣapuṭa (p. 265) among the sources utilized by the author. In any case, the text deserves attention because of the great number of Mss. and of its mere size: in some Mss. the number of *ślokas* seems to amount to 15.000 or more, divided into *prakāśas* (25, 35 or 50). This enormous size may, however, be due to the presence of a commentary (Pañjikā). A Baroda Ms. which claims to contain only the Mantrakhanda is estimated at only 800 *ślokas*, but might be incomplete. According to the introduction, Śiva proclaimed the Merutantra out of compassion for the gods and sages who had found a refuge on Mt. Meru from the attacks of the demon Jalandhara. From the list of contents it appears that the subject-matter (a general survey of Kaula ritual) has been arranged in the manner of a digest: *dikṣā*, *puraścaraṇa* and *mantras* of various deities, traditions of different schools having been incorporated in an eclectic manner.

The Mahānirvāṇatantra (MNT) is at present probably the most widely known original Tantra²⁵. It is also perhaps the youngest, because it can almost with

²² FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 354.

²³ RASB Cat., No. 6038. The text purports to be the eleventh chapter from that *khanda*.

²⁴ Ed. at Lucknow 1907 and at the Lakṣmīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay 1908; repr. 1940. These editions were not seen by the present author. List of contents in India Office Cat. IV, p. 380f. (No. 2570); for the Mss., see KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 528f.

²⁵ No less than 18 editions, all before 1930, are recorded in IOL-SB, III, 1953, p. 1521–23. The *editio princeps* (not in IOL-SB) is that by ĀNANDACHANDRA VIDYĀVĀGIŚA under the auspices of the Ādi Brāhma Samāj, Calcutta 1876, on the base of three Mss., one of which was in the possession of the Samāj, and one of RĀMMOHAN ROY. Among other eds. are those by J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1884, with the comm. by HARIHARĀNANDA; by J. TARKĀLAMPKĀRA, with Bengali trsl., Calcutta 1886, ³1914; by KṚṢṆA GOPĀLA BHAKTA, Calcutta 1886; by J. P. MISRA, Bombay, Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, 1896; by G. MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA, Calcutta 1901, ²1927; and the famous edition by A. AVALON, Calcutta and London 1929 (Tantrik Texts, 13).—Translation by M. N. DUTT, Calcutta 1892, ²1900; and by A. AVALON (on the base of K. G. BHAKTA's edition): "The Great Liberation", Madras 1913, ²1927. The text and trsl. by AVALON were re-edited together in Madras 1953, repr. 1973; repr. Delhi 1979; paperback ed.: New York (Dover) 1972. J. WOODROFFE's "Introduction to Tantra Śāstra", Madras ⁴1963, is a separate reprint of the Introduction to "The Great Liberation".—A discussion of contents of the Mahānirvāṇatantra can be found in S. C. BANERJĪ, Tantra in Bengal, p. 104–116.

certainly be dated in the second half of the eighteenth century²⁶. It is not mentioned in earlier texts or lists; the number of Mss. is limited²⁷; its only commentary, an unpretentious product by Hariharānanda Bhāratī, guru of Rāmmohan Roy, dates from the nineteenth century. Derrett, who characterizes the work as a “well-intentioned fraud”, considers it to be a sample specimen of the Hindu faculty of assimilation of values imported from other cultures. The author, who may have been Hariharānanda’s guru, “was evidently writing for those who wanted a practical guide for legal as well as spiritual life”²⁸. A large part of the text is indeed devoted to legal matters (with special emphasis on marriage, inheritance, and caste rules). Its injunctions often deviate in a remarkable way from those of the traditional Dharmaśāstra, while some entirely new subjects (slavery; conjugal ethics in 8, 35f.; juridical status of ritual “Śaiva” marriages) find a place in it; there may be some influence of English law. The author’s principal motive without doubt was to offer a purified form of Tantric religion, accessible and practicable to all, as an alternative for Islamic and Christian propaganda. The work certainly deserves attention on account of its internal coherence, the sincere exertion to communicate a message, its reasonably correct language, the clearness of its style, and its didactical competence²⁹. If the MNT should be ostracized as a fraud on the ground that it presents new doctrines in an ancient garb, one should have to deal in the same way with a considerable part of the Tantric literature.

The MNT is of considerable size: 2522 *ślokas*, divided into 14 chapters (*ullāsa*). It is presented in the ordinary form of a dialogue between Śiva and Devī under the names of Sadāśiva and Pārvatī or Ādyā Kālī. After a description by the author of the scene of the dialogue (identical with the beginning of a version of the Uddīśatantra) and of Sadāśiva’s appearance, Devī calls to memory that in former times (the Kṛtayuga) Śiva had proclaimed the Vedas and the *dharma* of the ranks of society and the stages of life to the people of yore who by their pious works had become equal to the gods. With the progress of time a deterioration took place and God, in order to preserve for human beings an opportu-

²⁶ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 354f. (18th cent.); J. D. M. DERRETT, A Juridical Fabrication of Early British India: The Mahānirvāna-Tantra, in *Zs. für Rechtswiss.*, 69/2, 1968, p. 138–181; repr. in J. D. M. DERRETT, Essays in Classical and Modern Hindu Law, II, Leiden 1977, p. 197–242, on p. 224f. (between 1773 and 1780). BHARATĪ, Tantric Tradition, without argumentation intimates that the text is “usually ascribed to the eleventh century” (p. 66) and “probably written in the seventh century” (p. 194).

²⁷ About six of these are noted in the catalogues. The Nepalese Ms. mentioned by AVALON, The Great Liberation, p. VIII, is almost certainly non-existent (cf. DERRETT, o.c., p. 232). Attention should be drawn to a Ms. recorded in the Orissa Cat. (Suppl., p. 153, No. 34) estimated to be of the eighteenth century.

²⁸ DERRETT, o.c., p. 223. On the author of the MNT and the influence exercised by the work on RĀMMOHAN ROY, see the same, p. 227f.

²⁹ DERRETT’s verdict: “barbaric style” (o.c., p. 239) is too severe.

nity to strive after the spiritual ideal, successively revealed the Smṛtis and the Saṃhitās. At present, the Kaliyuga has appeared in which mankind is evil in all respects. In this period the Tantras were revealed in order to rescue the fallen souls, but even this teaching was wrongly applied. Devī therefore requests her partner to communicate a method by which people can regain their former virtues; through her argumentation we can discern the author's reformist attitude. In his answer, Śiva admits that the Tantric methods are manifold. Nevertheless, in the Kali age people should follow the Āgamic rules and apply the Tantric *mantras*. He then concentrates on the teaching of the Supreme Being (Paramātman who is Brahman) on Whose behest he, Sadāśiva, executes the dissolution of the world. The worship of this Brahman is expounded further in chapter III, without doubt one of the most original passages of the text. The *mantra* applied is *Oṃ sac cid ekam brahma* "Oṃ, Brahman the Existent, the Conscious, the Unique", a modification of the famous Advaita characterization of Brahman as *saccidānanda*. The word *ānanda* "bliss, happiness" may have been replaced because it could suggest ritual eroticism which would be out of place in the purified, speculatively oriented worship of Brahman. The meaning of the syllable *Oṃ* is succinctly explained as follows (3,32):

"By the sound *A* He preserves the world, from the sound *U* He dissolves it; by the sound *MA* He creates the world; [thus] the meaning of the *praṇava* is proclaimed".

Brahman Itself is to be meditated upon as follows (3, 50, a stanza in the Vasanatatilakā metre):

"I praise Brahman, the Principle of Consciousness
Who resides within the heart-lotus, devoid of characteristics or desires,
Who is realized by Viṣṇu, Śiva and Brahmā, accessible to yogins by meditation,
Who destroys the fear of birth and death,
Whose true form is existence and consciousness,
the First Cause of the entire world".

The *pūjā* of Brahman, mental as well as material, is then succinctly described. The ritual is quite simple. A worshipper of Brahman should further follow the basic ethical rules and accustom himself to the code of behaviour which society expects from him (*lokayātrā*); but during the worship no caste distinction should be made (3,92). Devī should also be worshipped as Mother of the World (*parāprakṛti*). The recognition of her paramount role in the cosmic process is the cornerstone of the Kaula behaviour (*kulācāra*). In the Kali age, Kaula rituals should not be kept secret, because concealment is equal to untruth (4, 75f.)—a characteristic deviation from the doctrine of the KT and other texts. The daily ritual of Goddess worship is punctually described in the chapters V and VI. Ādyā Kālī is to be meditated upon as black and dancing, but she shows the hand-poses of security and liberality and lacks fearsome attributes. The consecration of the main ingredients of the ritual (*pañcatattva*) can be effectuated with Vedic *mantras*. The seventh chapter contains a *stotra* and *kavaca* to Ādyā Kālī and the method of mastering her *mantra*. From chapter VIII on-

wards the author discusses Varnāśramadharma. Here again, there is a remarkable clarity of exposition combined with a consistent concentration on the main features of the subject. The ethical rules given in VIII breathe a conservative, upper middle class spirit, as may appear from the following enunciation on the duties of a servant (8, 149):

“When he has committed a mischief, he should, standing in front of his master, beg for forgiveness; proudness, self-conscious talk and the behaviour of an equal he should avoid”.

The subject is interrupted by a passage on the Bhairavīcakra and the Tattva-cakra (varieties of communal Kaula ritual; 8, 155–219). Chapter IX discusses the *saṃskāras*; X the funeral rites; XI the evil consequences of sins, and expiations; XII the law of inheritance, and XIII the rites of consecration of images, houses, wells etc. Of special interest is the consecration of a pillar devoted to the Nāgas (*nāgastambha*), a ritual also known from Nepal; the Nāga is invited into the pillar with the following stanza (13, 175):

“Nāga! Thou art Viṣṇu’s seat, and Mahādeva’s ornament;
take up Thy abode in this pillar and protect this water for me”.

The subject of consecration is continued in XIV with the immovable Śivaliṅga, after which there is an exposé of a more theoretical character on the nature of *karman*, on Brahman and on the status of *avadhūtas* and yogins. An encomium on Kuladharma in general and on the MNT itself in particular forms a worthy but lengthy conclusion.

A small number of Tantras do not try to give a more or less complete or at least varied survey of the ritual of one or more deities. Instead of this they specialize on limited subjects such as speculation, yoga, a particular *mantra*, guru worship, etc. As a rule their size is small while they give the impression of being comparatively recent.

The subjects of mystic speculation and yoga go together in a few texts. The Brahmajñānatantra, as its title implies, deals with the knowledge of Brahman, with special reference to creation and dissolution of the world. On his wife’s request, Śiva announces its explanation according to the Tantric tradition (*tāntrikakrama*). There are six or five chapters and about 340 *ślokas* (or less, in the version of five chapters)³⁰. The Mss. called Brahmajñānāsāstra³¹ are largely identical with the former text.

A similar text is the Jñānasamkalinītantra. It contains about 108 *ślokas* of aphorisms on the wisdom of the Self (*adhyātmavidyā*) from the viewpoint of

³⁰ It seems to be a Bengali work, although there is one incomplete Ms. from Baroda. Cf. also R. MITRA, Notices, 408; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 428. The Brahmāṇḍajñānatantra recorded by MITRA, o.c., 248, in 5 chs., may or may not be identical with it.

³¹ RASB Cat., p. 308f.

non-duality. There are several Mss. and a few editions³². Several mystic truths are expressed in a short and pithy way which reminds of early Indonesian treatises on similar subjects such as the *Jñānasiddhānta*³³. The quick succession of questions and answers give the text the character of a catechism. The style shows a tendency towards balanced structure and parallelism, for instance in Śiva's unorthodox answer to Devī's question after the *khecārimudrā* and the *śāmbhavividyā* (14 and 15):

“Whose mind is steadfast without having an object of concentration;
whose breath is steadfast without being obstructed;
whose gaze is steadfast without being directed somewhere;
that *mudrā* is the freely moving one, 'going through the sky' (*khecārī*).
Just as the mind of a child or of a dull person
performs the act of sleep without dreaming,
abiding on that side, without being attached to its path (?)³⁴,
that *vidyā* is the freely moving one, the one of the Lord (*śāmbhavi*)”.

Other specially favoured subjects are: micro-macrocosm relation; mystical knowledge about *prāṇa* (breath), *manas* (mind), *ātman*, *jīva* etc.; the yogic body; the yogic view of the world; symbolism of *Om*. It is not clear, if this text is identical with the Ms. called *Jñānasaṅkulītantra*³⁵ which contains about 200 *ślokas* and begins by quoting the *Śāmbhavītantra*. In the colophon it ascribes itself to the latter text and calls itself a *Yogaśāstra*; the introduction contains i. a. the first stanza of the *Jñānasaṅkalītantra* in Kaviraj's edition.

A text called *Brahmasandhānam*, a dialogue between Śiva and Skanda, in 28 chapters discusses such subjects as breathing, dissolution of the mind into the Absolute, origin and dissolution of the animate and inanimate world, composition of the body, the secret of time, meditation and internal worship. It comprises the first part (25 folia) of a composite Ms. of the same title³⁶ which among other texts contains the *Uddhārakośa* by Dakṣiṇāmūrti, the *Matsyodātantra* (fol. 85–96) in which Śiva in peculiar Sanskrit answers a number of questions on yogic subjects such as the erection of the internal *liṅga* (st. 31 f.), and the *Prāṇāgnihotratāntra* (fol. 96–102) on the method of performing the fire sacrifice into the own breath.

Yoga of the Tantric variety is also expounded in the *Mṛtyumjāyatantra*³⁷ of four or five chapters and about 300 *ślokas*. The *Cintāmaṇītantra* of about

³² Cf. NCC, VII, p. 340 and IOL-SB, II, 1951, p. 1187; ed. with Bengali trsl. in the Aruṇodaya, Calcutta 1891 f.; ed. G. KAVIRAJ, in *Tantrasaṃgraha*, II, Varanasi 1970, p. 307–317; ed. with English trsl. by “KULABHŪṢAṆA”, Prayag 1975 (GDT).

³³ On this text, cf. HARYATI SOEBADIO, *Jñānasiddhānta*. Secret Lore of the Balinese Śaiva-priest. Introduction, Text and Translation, Thesis Amsterdam, The Hague 1971.

³⁴ There is a corruption in the text on this place.

³⁵ RASB, No. 6035.

³⁶ RASB No. 5990; RASB Cat., p. 185.

³⁷ RASB No. 5977; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 526.

250 *ślokas* discusses subjects pertaining to Kuṇḍalīniyoga. It differs from the Cintāmaṇimahākālpa by Dāmodara³⁸.

The Bhūtaśuddhitānta, as its title says, mostly deals with the purification of the elements (of the body) which is a necessary preparation for Tantric worship. It is almost only known from a few Mss. from Bengal and Assam and contains about 750 *ślokas* divided into 17 chapters³⁹. Besides purification, a number of other yogic topics are dealt with in the process, such as the presence of deities in the yogic body including the mystical abode of Śiva and Śakti (*śivapuram*, chapter VII; *śāktapuram*, X); *mantras* of the *śakti* (XIII); *mātrkānyāsa* (XV); *prāṇāyāma* (XVI); *tīrthas* (XVII; Kāśī the most effective of them). Recitation (*japa*) of *mantras* of Kālī, Sarasvatī and other female deities seems to be the speciality of the Sarasvatītānta, a short text of about 150 *ślokas* in six or seven chapters⁴⁰. The deities of the *cakras* and the regulation of the breath are also touched in it.

One of the most famous Tantric *vidyās*, the Vedic Gāyatrī (RV 3, 62, 10), is the subject of the Gāyatrītānta. It contains five chapters and 815 *ślokas* in the KSS edition⁴¹. The worship and applications of the highly extolled Gāyatrī obtain a detailed treatment, but the second chapter discusses the meaning of the Vedic *vyākṛtis* (*bhūr, bhuvah, svah*).

The title of the Gurutānta does not leave any doubt about its subject, to wit the greatness and worship of the religious teacher. There are five *paṭalas* and 264 *ślokas* according to R. Mitra; a RASB Ms. contains about 190 *ślokas* and lacks a division into chapters⁴².

The construction and application of ritual diagrams (*yantra*), especially the variety called *aṅkayantra*, are treated in the Śivatāṇḍavatānta. It is not clear from the catalogues if the complete text has been preserved, although a few Mss. (Baroda, Jammu) are rather voluminous. In most cases, we have only the chapters XII–XIV of the first part (*pūrvakāṇḍa*) which obtained some authority by means of the fairly popular commentary of Nilakaṇṭha Caudhari (Ca-

³⁸ Of the Cintāmaṇitānta, there are several Mss.: NCC, VII, 59; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 209. Its title occurs as No. 35 in the ATV list.—On the Cintāmaṇimahākālpa, see IOL Cat. No. 6217; NCC, VII, 61.

³⁹ RASB, Cat., p. 179f. VSP Cat., p. 43 (13 chs.); Assam Cat., p. 95 (12 chs.); according to the latter, the text has been published.

⁴⁰ Ed. G. VEDĀNTATĪRTHA and S. SIDDHĀNTABHŪṢAṆA, Rajshahi 1323 B.S. (1916 A.D.); cf. RASB Cat., p. 206f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 684. The YT (2, 32) refers to it for an exposition of *japa*.

⁴¹ Ed. TĀRAKANĀTHA BHATṬĀCĀRYA, Varanasi 1946 (KSS 143; Tantra Śāstra Section, No. 2); re-edited 1969; with a Hindī comm. Tattvadīpikā by ŚIVADATTA MĪŚRA. For earlier editions, see IOL-SB, I, 902, and the NCC, VI, p. 2f. which also records ten Mss., mostly from Eastern India. The text is also called Gāyatrībrāhmaṇollāsa (tantra) and in that case ascribes itself to the Kāmādhenu-tānta.

⁴² MITRA, Notices, 247 according to KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 186; RASB Cat., p. 118; a score of Mss. recorded in NCC, VI, p. 69.

turdhara), called Anūpārāma⁴³. In these chapters, the main subject is the construction of *yantras* of nine and sixteen square units (*koṣṭha*). There is also a Ms. of the second part⁴⁴ in fifteen chapters and about 1714 *ślokas*; in its introduction Devī poses a question after the nature of Rudra's Tāṇḍava dance and its function with regard to the Six Acts of magic. Another, very short (80 *ślokas*), text on the subject of *yantras* is the Śivanṛtyatantra⁴⁵; there may be a connection with the preceding text.

The ritual performance of the "five Makāras" which plays an important part in the Kaula system is treated in the Kaivalyatantra⁴⁶. The Kula duties to be followed by the initiated adepts are dealt with by the Vimalātantra. Of this text no Mss. are recorded in the catalogues, but R. Mitra⁴⁷ gives information about a Ms. in seven *paṭalas* which among other subjects treats of erotic ritual; there are also hymns to Gaurī and a *kavaca* of Caṇḍikā.

The main concern of the short Samayācāratantra is with the importance and the preparation of hemp (*samayā*) which was used as a stimulant in obtaining a superior state of mind. The text is also interested in the tradition (the six Āmnāyas, vs. 67f.) and in erotic ritual⁴⁸.

The Yonitantra is a short exposé (200–250 *ślokas*) in eight *paṭalas* on the worship of female reproductivity. It is repeatedly quoted and its name occurs as one of the sixty-four Tantras in the Sarvollāsa⁴⁹. In the introductory part, Śiva informs his wife that the organs of generation (*yoni*) of a woman, especially when in menstruation, are the basic seat of divine power (*pīṭha*) the worship of which leads to liberation. Many heroes from the past, including Rāma and Kṛṣṇa, were secret worshippers of the *yoni* (chapter IV).

⁴³ According to H. P. SASTRI, Nepal Cat. II, p. 188, it was completed in Śaka 1777 (1855 A.D.), but a RASB Ms. (No. 5968) is dated V.S. 1897 (A.D. 1840–41). The commentator lived at the court of ANŪPASIMHA, king of Bikaner 1674–1709.

⁴⁴ RASB No. 5966; Cat. p. 154f.

⁴⁵ RASB No. 5965; a Ms. in the SU, Varanasi, contains 124 *ślokas*.

⁴⁶ The eight Mss. recorded in the NCC, V, 77, contain mostly five chapters.—On the five Makāras, see above, p. 84.

⁴⁷ R. MITRA, Notices, p. 230, according to KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 597.—The title Vimalāmata occurs as No. 61 in the NSA list and as No. 58 in the KulCT list; there are various references to the (a) Vimalātantra in the digests.

⁴⁸ RASB Cat., p. 118f. (four Mss.); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 681f.

⁴⁹ There are several Mss.: KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 545f.; see also Orissa Cat., No. 90. A Ms. mentioned by H. P. SASTRI, Notices, I, p. 304, contains 17 *paṭalas*. The same author in Notices, I, p. 249, describes a version called Bṛhadyonitantra. Edition of the Yonitantra by J. SCHOTERMAN, Delhi 1980.

CHAPTER VI

VAIṢṆAVA TANTRAS AND TANTRAS OF OTHER SECTS

The term “Vaiṣṇavatantra” is sometimes used to denote the texts of the Pāñcarātra Vaiṣṇava school. This school produced a voluminous and important religious literature which has been discussed in another part of this History¹. The Pāñcarātra texts are usually styled Samhitā, but they also include the famous Lakṣmītantra. They tend to concentrate on cosmogonic and theological speculation and, above all, on ritual matter, especially temple construction and temple worship. But a few relatively late texts such as the Bṛhadbrahmasamhitā from the Nārada-pāñcarātra devote great attention to the doctrine of Kṛṣṇa’s earthly exploits in the sacred grove of Vṛndāvana where he lived as a cowherd and was the object of veneration of Rādhā and the other cowherdesses. The remaining Vaiṣṇavatantras usually concentrate on the same subject, often with special reference to Kṛṣṇa/Rādhā’s sixteenth-century historical manifestation as Caitanya². This non-Pāñcarātra (or pseudo-Pāñcarātra) Vaiṣṇava Tantric literature is small in extent and in some cases definitely apocryphal in character. In its own way it tries to set forth and sometimes to develop the Vaiṣṇava doctrine and ritual in a modified form, keeping abreast with the new revelations offered by the deity to his devotees. The titles of only two Vaiṣṇava tantras, Gautamīya and Māheśvara, occur in the list of 64 Tantras in the seventeenth century digest Āgamatattvavilāsa (as resp. Nos. 23 and 52).

The text most often referred to in the tradition is the Gautamīyatantra, many Mss. of which are recorded³. It contains from 31 to 34 *paṭalas* (the number depends on the Ms.) and more than 2000 *ślokas* of correct but indifferent

¹ GONDA, MRL, p. 39ff.; see also H.D. SMITH, Descriptive Bibliography of the Printed Texts of the Pāñcarātrāgama, Vol. I, Baroda 1975 (GOS, vol. 158); Vol. II, Baroda 1980 (GOS, vol. 168).

² On CAITANYA, see W. EIDLITZ, Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, sein Leben und seine Lehre, Stockholm 1968 (Stockholm Studies in Comp. Rel., 7), with references to earlier literature in the Bibliography, p. 548f.; on the religious biographies devoted to him and on the literature produced by his followers, especially the very learned “Six Gosvāmins”, see EIDLITZ, o.c., p. 533f.; S.K. DE, Early History, p. 556f.; GONDA, MRL, p. 20f.

³ NCC VI, p. 226; Orissa Cat., No. 26; BORI Cat., p. 156f.; ed. with Bengali trsl. from the Vasumatī Press, Calcutta B.S. 1334 (A.D. 1927–28); ed. BHAGIRATHA JHA, Varanasi 1977 (in 32 chs.). Other editions are recorded in the NCC and in IOL-SB, I, p. 895. Description of contents by R. MITRA in Bikaner Cat., p. 583.

Sanskrit. There are three commentaries written by Mukundalāla, Rādhākṛṣṇa Gosvāmin and Rādhāmohana (the Tattvadīpikā). The fame won by this text is attested to by a substantial number of quotations, for instance in Jīva Gosvāmin's works and in the Haribhaktivilāsa by Sanātana and Gopāla Bhaṭṭa⁴. The text describes the ritual of Kṛṣṇa worship with the help of *mantras* the first of which is the famous *mantra* of ten syllables, viz. *Gopījanavallabhāya namaḥ*. The contents, communicated by Nārada to Gautama, include a description of Vṛndāvana and meditation on Kṛṣṇa in chapter IV; initiation (Vf.); twelve forms of purification (VIII); *pūjā* (IXf.); *homa* (XI); *pūjā* on special occasions (XV); application of a wide variety of Vaiṣṇava *mantras* including those of female divinities (XVI f.); descriptions of kinds of *siddhis* as a result of mastery of these *mantras*; conduct of a Vaiṣṇava (XXXI); yoga (XXXII).

The Māheśvaratantra is a Pārvaṭīśivasamvāda (dialogue between Śiva and his spouse). The presentation of Vaiṣṇava tradition in a Śaiva garb is not uncommon; other instances are the Rudragīta from the Brhadbrahmasaṃhitā⁵ and parts of the Pātālakhaṇḍa of the Padmapurāṇa⁶. The Māheśvaratantra is a voluminous text of more than 3000 *ślokas* divided into 51 chapters. Although not so well known in Sanskrit literature as the preceding text⁷, it is more easily available in print⁸. It is not clear if the ascription to the Nārada-pāñcarātra which occurs at the beginning of the Chowkhamba edition has a base in the Mss.; in that same edition the text is called a Jñānakhaṇḍa (colophons to the chapters I and II; page headings throughout the text) or an Uttarakhaṇḍa (colophons to most of the chapters III–LI). At the beginning, Pārvaṭī, after elaborately praising her husband, entreats him to communicate to her the knowledge of reality which has not yet been revealed in the sixty-four Tantras that were proclaimed in the past—a very common kind of introduction. Śiva answers his wife that the real wisdom, *jñāna*, is that which reveals the Ātman which is identical with Brahman. Everything evolves from it and returns to it like the waves from and to the ocean. Its material form is the cosmic Puruṣa who is to be identified with Nārāyaṇa (1, 57 ff.; *triṣṭubhs*). The next three chapters in Purāṇa-like style relate how Lakṣmī (called Ramā in the text) by asceticism forces her husband Viṣṇu to communicate to her the subject of his meditation: the boundless happiness which will befall both of them in their

⁴ S.K. DE, Early History, p. 418; 522.

⁵ GONDA, MRL, p. 123.

⁶ Cf. EIDLITZ, Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya, p. 52.

⁷ The Māheśvaratantra does not occur in the lists of Tantras quoted by RŪPA GOSVĀMIN in his Bhaktirasāmṛtasindhu, by JĪVA GOSVĀMIN in his works and by the Haribhaktivilāsa (S.K. DE, Early History, p. 201 f.; 413 f.; 520 f.). It may be a work connected with the Nimbārka school (NIMBĀRKA was a propagator of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa mysticism), but this is difficult to prove.

⁸ Ed. in 3060 *ślokas* by BRAHMACHĀRI ŚRĪ KṚṢṆAPRIYĀCHĀRYA, Varanasi V.S. 1996 (A.D. 1940) (CSS Vol. 85); the Ms. RASB No. 6033 has been estimated at 3528 *ślokas*.

future manifestation as Kṛṣṇa and Rukmiṇī. There follows a discourse on philosophical matters, especially on the problem as to how the spotless Brahman came under the influence of Ignorance (*ajñāna*, elsewhere often called *avidyā*) and Delusion (*moha*). *Ajñāna*, which is neither existent nor non-existent, is threefold: basic (*mūlājñāna*) equated with deep sleep; “subject to Nārāyaṇa” (*Nārāyaṇopādhika*), equated with the state of dreaming; and “subject to Viṣṇu”, equated with the waking state (6, 21 f.), Viṣṇu is the primeval and cosmic soul (*jīva*); Ignorance is caused by two Śaktis called Vikṣepa “Distracting” and Āvaraṇa “Enveloping” (6, 36; elsewhere, e.g. in Jīva Gosvāmī’s *Paramātmāsandarbhā*⁹, these are two aspects of Māyā). The subject changes in chapter VII to a poetical description of the eternal Vṛndāvana. The Lord’s female companions (*sakhīs*) express their desire to be partners in his playful activities. They thereupon re-enter existence as cowherdesses near Mathurā (IX); the chapters X–XV contain a description of the Kṛṣṇa Avatāra and his relation to Rādhā and the other Gopīs. The next part of the work focuses on the nature of Kṛṣṇabhakti. The ideal *bhakta* becomes one of the Lord’s beloved (*priyā*)¹⁰ and develops the *viraha* emotion, i.e. the mental attitude of the faithful wife who longs after the return of her husband¹¹; this discourse is interrupted by cosmogonical or philosophical statements. A relatively short chapter (XXVI) on the Tantric tradition communicates i.a. the titles of twenty-five Vaiṣṇava Tantras. The list, which with a few differences also occurs in AgPur 39, 1–7, contains several Saṃhitās of the Pāñcarātra, but also many vague titles which are otherwise unknown. Chapter XXVII gives i.a. rules of conduct for a ceremony of communal worship (*utsava*), and only XXIX, XXX and XXXII deal with *mantra*, especially a variety of 49 syllables called Mantrarāja or Mantracintāmaṇi¹². *Pūjā* and other ritual matters are discussed in XXXI, XXXIII and XLVIII f. The meditative journey of the devoted soul to Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa’s several supernatural abodes which are mystically present within the devotee himself are described in detail in XXXVII f. This part of the work also dwells on Kṛṣṇa’s gallantry to Rādhā (called Svāmīnī) and the *sakhīs*, especially one called Sundarī who more than once evokes the Lady’s jealousy. Chapter XLVII emphasizes the importance of praising the Lord by *stotra* and *kīrtana*; chapter L touches the relation of the Veda, considered to be the word of supernatural wisdom, to the doctrine of the divine emotion of love. An impression of

⁹ S.K. DE, *Early History*, p. 306; EIDLITZ, *Kṛṣṇa-Caitanya*, p. 33.

¹⁰ Cf. E.C. DIMOCK, *The Place of the Hidden Moon*, Chicago 1966, p. 158; W. EIDLITZ, *Die indische Gottesliebe*, Olten und Freiburg i. Br. 1955, p. 224 f.; M. SRINGER (ed.), *Traditional India: Structure and Change*, Philadelphia 1959, p. 148; B. BEHARI, *The Story of Mira Bai*, Gorakhpur 1941, p. 47 f.

¹¹ *Māheśvaratantra* 22, 36 f.; ch. 23; 27, 46; 34, 29; ch. 46 (ten states of *viraha*).

¹² Its central part is: “Lord Kṛṣṇa, Supreme Happiness, I am Thy beloved, take me as Thy own . . . remove the delusion . . .”; it differs from the Mantracintāmaṇi given in *Bṛhadbrahmasaṃhitā* 2, 5, 7 f.

this divine love, clothed in a garb of mystical geography, may be obtained from *Māheśvaratantra* 42, 5f.:

“From the bodies of the Lady and of Kṛṣṇa Who eternally engage in love-play originated a large stream of the fluid of perspiration; filled by this water, there exists a pond of supreme beauty, a hundred *yojanas* in extent, with the brilliance of strings of jewels; gay with humming bees which fly hither and thither; crowded with groups of lotuses; its sandy shores are adorned by crowds of birds with golden wings. From this pond, that river streams forth which obtained fame under the name *Yamunā*”.

The *Sātvatatāntra*¹³, “revealed by Nārāyaṇa and communicated to Nārada by Śiva” (editor, title page) has nothing more than its title in common with the usual kind of Tantric literature. It is a source of religious education for the *Sātvatas* or *Bhāgavatas*, the devoted followers of Viṣṇu-Kṛṣṇa, characterized by a remarkable simplicity of style and consistency of presentation. Its main emphasis is on *bhakti*, which is treated especially from chapter IV onwards. The first part of the work deals with Viṣṇu’s cosmic manifestation and with his *Avatāras* (II, in very readable stanzas in *Vasantatilakā* metre). The seventh chapter gives a list of thousand names of Kṛṣṇa who is considered a *Pūrṇāṃśa* (manifestation of the totality of the divine energy) and equated with Brahman (III). At the end (9, 32f.) the question of the Vedic animal sacrifice is touched upon.

The name of Kṛṣṇa’s beloved is borne by the *Rādhātāntra* which is much inferior to the preceding work in style and presentation. There are several Mss., mostly from Bengal, while the number of chapters varies from 32 to 37¹⁴. The colophons also contain the title *Vāsudevarahasyam*. The text describes the story of Kṛṣṇa and Rādhā and the relevant *mantras* and ritual in a Śākta garb. Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva worships Tripurā and obtains her grace. She addresses him as her son (because he is an incarnation of the Supreme Prakṛti; chapter XVIII) and introduces him into Kaula ritual which he should execute with one of her own mantric manifestations (Rādhā, in this context called *Padminī*) as his partner. This context shows the close relation of the text with some *Kālitāntras* discussed above (p. 82).

In the traditional series of *Yāmala*s, in which each of them bears the name of an important deity, the title *Viṣṇuyāmala*, as might be expected, occurs

¹³ Ed. ANANTA ŚĀSTRĪ PHADKE, Varanasi 1934 (CSS, 79), in nine *paṭalas*. This text should not be confounded with the *Sātvatasamhitā* of the *Pāñcarātra*, for which see H. D. SMITH, Bibliography, p. 514; GONDA, MRL, p. 88.

¹⁴ Ed. in 32 chapters by R. M. CHATTOPADHYAYA in the *Tantrasāra*, Calcutta 1877 to 1884; by U. TARKARATNA and T. NYĀYARATNA in the *Sulabhatantraprakāśa*, Calcutta 1886; by KĀLĪPRASANNA VIDYĀRATNA, Calcutta B.S. 1313 (= A.D. 1906). See IOL-SB, III, p. 2022, for the old editions. According to MUKHERJĪ, Vaishnavism, p. 195, there exists an edition by PURĪ DĀSA, Calcutta 1954. See also Orissa Cat., Suppl., No. 50 (a Ms. of 37 chs.); CSC Cat., V, No. 76 (p. 74f.); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 554.

also¹⁵. There may indeed have been an ancient text of that name, since it is quoted once in the *Spandapradīpikā*¹⁶; a late ascription such as that in the *Bagalāmukhipañcāṅga* of course does not carry much conviction. The two Mss. which have been preserved under the name *Viṣṇuyāmala* in Tanjore do not seem to contain important old matter; part I deals with a rite of presenting an axe to the deity¹⁷. *Kṛṣṇayāmala* serves as another locus of ascription. A short *Tribhaṅgacarita* on the three times bended form of *Kṛṣṇa* claims to constitute a part of it¹⁸. But there is also a *Kṛṣṇayāmala* which occurs in several Mss. and in the form of a dialogue between *Vyāsa* and *Nārada* describes several episodes from *Kṛṣṇa*'s life¹⁹.

There are other Vaiṣṇava schools that possess Tantra-oriented ritual guides: the *Agastyasamhitā* functions as such for the *Rāma* worshippers (especially the followers of *Rāmānanda*)²⁰. It is quoted in several texts, e.g. monographs on *dharma*; it existed at least about the middle of the thirteenth century, because its 26th chapter (on the rituals of the *Rāmanavamī*) is quoted in its entirety by *Hemādri* in his *Caturvargacintāmaṇi*. Another text on worship and *mantras* of *Rāma*, the *Dāśarathīyatantra*²¹, consists of two parts. Part I (*Pūrvārḍha*), in 59 or 60 *adhyāyas*, is said to have been taken from a digest called *Anuttara-brahmatattvarahasya*. The *Uttarārḍha* (part II) also deals with the *Śrīvidyā* method and *Lakṣmī* worship, and (chapters XXVIII–XLV) with the *Rājaraṣe-śvarīvidyā*.

The Vaiṣṇava *Īśānasamhitā*, which, curiously enough, ascribes itself to the *Kulārnavatantra*, is a short dialogue between *Nārada* and *Gautama*.²² It also mentions the name of *Kṛṣṇa*'s incarnation as *Gaurāṅga* who is better known to the outside world as *Caitanya*, the deified Vaiṣṇava mystic who lived from 1486 to 1533 and gave an enormous impetus to the Vaiṣṇava movement in Bengal and other parts of North India. The same figure is the main object of worship in the *Ūrdhvāmnāyasamhitā* (*Ūrdhvāmnāya* is the tradition to which the *Ku-*

¹⁵ The title occurs as No. 24 in the NSA list of 64 Tantras. There are also quotations by *JIVA GOSVĀMIN* and in the *Haribhaktivilāsa* (S.K. DE, Early History, p. 419 and 520f.).—For the *Yāmala*s, see above, p. 39f.

¹⁶ p. 11. Cf. LAS, p. 125.

¹⁷ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 600.

¹⁸ RASB Cat., p. 91.

¹⁹ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 153, referring to H.P. SASTRI, Notices, I, p. 78; NCC, IV, p. 347f. where mention is made of the existence of a modern work by *VAIDYANĀTHA* under this title.

²⁰ Ed. with Bengali trsl. by *KAMALAKRṢṆA SMṚTITĪRTHA*, Calcutta 1910; ed. *RĀ-MNĀRĀYANDĀS*, Lucknow 1898; ed. at Mysore, 1957; cf. also NCC, I, p. 24 (many Mss.); *BORI Cat.*, p. 2.—For information on this text I am indebted to *DRS. HANS BAKKER* of Groningen. The *Rāmaite Agastyasamhitā*, an *Agastyasutikṣṇasamvāda*, should not be confounded with *Pāñcarātra* texts of this title, for which see H.D. SMITH, Some Notes on the Canonical Identification of a *Pāñcarātrāgama* Text, in *ALB*, 27, 1963, p. 1–17; H.D. SMITH, Bibliography, p. 25f.

²¹ IOL Cat. Nos. 2557–58 (Vol. IV, p. 866f.); CSC Cat., V, No. 38.

²² NCC, II, p. 266; RASB Cat., p. 114f.

lārṇavatāntra professes to belong). It can boast of a considerable number of Mss.; it contains about 300 *ślokas* in twelve chapters²³.

The Viśvasāratāntra occurs in the ATV list as No. 38; according to R. Mitra²⁴ it is a voluminous text of more than 5000 *ślokas* revealed by Mahākāla in eight *paṭalas*; it deals with typically Tantric (and often non-Vaiṣṇava) topics.²⁵ Among the texts which ascribe themselves to this Tantra is a very short Vaiṣṇava tract called Gūḍhāvatāra which describes the life of Caitanya as an incarnation of Kṛṣṇa²⁶.

There are also ritual handbooks of Tantric Vaiṣṇavism which do not claim to be "Original Tantras". A short note on these is added here for the sake of convenient arrangement. The best known among them seems to be the Kramadīpikā by Keśava Bhaṭṭa from Kashmir; it was commented upon by Govinda Bhaṭṭa and several others²⁷. In eight *paṭalas* it teaches the method of worshipping Kṛṣṇa and other Vaiṣṇava deities in the Tantric way and of mastering their *mantras*. It is in any case older than the second half of the sixteenth century because it has been quoted by Rūpa Gosvāmin in his Ujjvalanīlamanī. Another text of the same character but of much less fame is the Sādhana-dīpikā completed in seven *prakāśas* by Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭa. The author²⁸, who should not be confounded with the famous poet of the Stavacintāmaṇi, writes in a simple style. After invoking Kṛṣṇa and declaring his intention to compose a compilation for the benefit of the *sādhakas*, he begins discussing the requirements of the guru and his pupil in connection with the *dikṣā* "without which"—says the author—"no *bhakti* of the Lord is possible whatever".

The fourth of the classical ten Vaiṣṇava manifestations is a subject of reverence in the Nārasimhakalpa, a presumably modern text of little renown in about 600 *ślokas*²⁹.

There exists at least one Tantra of the Viraśaivas: the Pārameśvaratantra, a Ms. of which, preserved in the RASB, contains 23 chapters in 138 folios³⁰.

²³ Ed. A. CH. TARKANIDHI, Calcutta 1285 B.S. (= 1878 A.D.), with a Bengali trsl. For the Mss., see the NCC, III, p. 3.

²⁴ Notices, 3192, according to KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 598. A few Mss. seem to exist in the VSP Library in Calcutta.

²⁵ See above, p. 97.

²⁶ RASB, Ms. No. 6038; the Cat. also refers to the VSP Cat., p. 50.

²⁷ Ed. in the Vividhatantrasamgraha, 1877-84; with GOVINDA VIDYĀVINODA's commentary, by D. P. SHUKLA, Varanasi 1917 (Chowkhamba Skt. Ser.); by R. CH. KAK and HARABHAṬṬA SHASTRI in the KSTS, vol. 54, 1929. There exists a commentary by another GOVINDA, son of JAGANNĀTHA, presumably an Orissan, with an original preface: RASB, No. 6491.—The Mss. are numerous (NCC, V, 126).—KEŚAVA belonged to the Nimbārka tradition: KANE, HDh, V, 2, p. 1051.

²⁸ His guru was a Kānyakubja Brahman named ŚĀṆKARA.—For the Mss., see KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 692; RASB, No. 6493.

²⁹ RASB No. 6000; beginning extensively quoted in RASB Cat., p. 201 f.

³⁰ RASB No. 5808; Cat., p. 6.

It declares its adherence to the Śivādvaitasiddhānta and its first chapter discusses the various existing religious traditions (*matabheda*). The *liṅga*, the chief attribute of the Viraśaivas, is the subject in the chapters II and XIV. The chapters III f. are on *dikṣā* and VIII f. on the characteristics of Viraśaivas.

At least two Tantras are devoted to Sūrya. The Saurasamhitā (at the end also called Sauratantra), preserved in a very old Ms.³¹, is presented as a series of questions posed to Śiva by his son Kārttikeya (Skanda). The first question quoted in H. P. Shastri's catalogue is after Āditya's (Sūrya's) identity and origin. The text is rare; only one other Ms. seems to exist in Baroda besides the Nepalese one³². Somewhat better known is the so-called Sūryapaṭala from the Devīrahasya. It describes the mystic nature and Tantric worship of Sūrya in about 620 *śloka*s and declares to constitute the chapters XXXI to XXXV from the latter text³³. Of the Devīrahasya complete copies in 60 chapters and about 2900–5000 *śloka*s are preserved in London, Calcutta and elsewhere³⁴. There are two parts (*khaṇḍas*); the first is on Śākta rituals in general, while the second occupies itself with individual deities (e.g., chs. XXV–XXX with Gaṇeśa).

The Jains contributed to Tantric literature with their Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa³⁵ and Jvālīnikalpa. The first text was compiled about A. D. 1050 by Malliṣeṇa of Mysore³⁶; the second was produced by a monk of the Drāviḍa order from the Rāṣṭrakūṭa capital Mānyakheṭa³⁷. The Bhairavapadmāvatīkalpa, devoted to Padmāvatī who is a Jaina pendant of Tripurā, is a digest in 308 stanzas written in a good Sanskrit style with Āryā metres predominating. Its main concern is the practice of magic rites with *mantras* and *yantras* of the goddess.

A Tantric meditation from the fifteenth century Tattvārthasāradīpikā by the Jaina author Sakalakīrti has been discussed by Eliade³⁸.

³¹ According to Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXVI, the Ms. dates from N. S. 61 (= 940–41 A. D.). If the date is correct, this is one of the very oldest Tantric Mss.

³² KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 717.

³³ R. MITRA, Notices, 4160; RASB No. 6001.

³⁴ IOL Cat. No. 2546 and 2547 (Vol. IV, p. 858 f.); RASB No. 5880 and 5888 (Cat., p. 76); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 316.

³⁵ Ed. K. V. ABHYANKAR (with commentary by BANDHUṢEṆA) in JHAVERY, Mantrashastra, p. 1–74 (Devanāgarī figures). Some other minor texts on the worship of Padmāvatī and other Jaina goddesses were edited in the same book.

³⁶ On his date, cf. JHAVERY, Mantrashastra, p. 300. Malliṣeṇa gives a few particulars about his gurus at the end of the work.

³⁷ NANDI, Institutions, ch. XI (p. 147–167): The Jaina Goddesses of Tantric Association.—A survey of the Jaina *mantravāda* tradition is given by JHAVERY, Mantrashastra, on p. 147–294. No titles of Jaina Tantras occur in KAILĀSACANDRA ŚĀSTRĪ's two-volume Jainasāhitya kā Itihās, Varanasi 1975–76.

³⁸ ELIADE, Yoga, p. 214. His source is R. G. BHANDARKAR, Report on the Search for Sanskrit Mss. During the Year 1883–84, Bombay 1887, p. 110 f.—For Mss. of the text, see NCC, VIII, p. 77.

CHAPTER VII

TANTRAS OF MAGIC

The acquisition of supernatural faculties has always been an inseparable part of Tantric spiritual proficiency. Such faculties are often characterized as “magical”. The word “magic” is heavily loaded with pseudo-mysticism and often used quite out of place. In this chapter, it is understood as the performance of certain ritual acts—and the belief in the efficacy of such acts—with a view to making use of certain natural laws of cause and effect which are supposed to exist, in order to enforce some result(s) in the mundane sphere desired by the performer or his instructor. This also includes exorcism or the compelling of benevolent gods and spirits (especially Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs); but it does not include what is commonly called “witchcraft”: the natural propensity to perform the acts commonly ascribed to witches, such as attacking children, associating oneself with demons, acts of revelry etc. (although such behaviour is sometimes described in Tantric and other literature).

One can maintain that the description of magic performances as circumscribed above is one of the chief connections between late Vedic (especially, but by no means exclusively, Atharvavedic) and Tantric literature. Several rites (for instance, the famous effigy-piercing method) must have remained essentially the same throughout the historical period of Indian religion, even when they were described in different ways and denoted by different terminology.¹ Further, the magical sphere is perhaps the most important field in which age-old popular practices managed to find their way into Sanskrit literature—although admittedly often expressed in works of a decidedly inferior character. At first sight, there is even very little reason why such popular practices (including herb lore) should be associated with Tantric adepts who concentrate on worship of gods or experience of meditation; but the connecting link might have been the necessity for the magician, in order to obtain some degree of physiological and psychological superiority, to subject himself to certain procedures of meditation and yoga; while, on the other hand the Tantric *sādhaka* who came to realize his identity with the Supreme Power by the particular method of his

¹ A comprehensive history of ancient and medieval (Sanskritized) Indian magic does not yet exist. The Vedic period was described in CALAND, *Zauberritual*; CALAND, *Altindische Zauberei*; HENRY, *Magie*; OLDENBERG, *Religion des Veda*, p. 475–522; N. J. SHENDE, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Atharvaveda*, Poona 1952; etc. For the later period, cf. GOUDRIAAN, *Māyā*, esp. ch. VI.

sampradāya still had to “prove” himself to the common people or to impress future clients (if possible, from the higher strata of society) whom he would need to maintain his mortal body.

The “ordinary” Tantras or Tantric digests also often contain chapters on magic, which they include in the discussion of optional, *kāmya*, ritual. Some of them. e.g. the PS, the ŚT and the Phetkārīṇītantra, even are among the most important sources of Tantric magic. But on various occasions they hasten to declare that one should never execute it for one’s own sake. The purely “magical” Tantras, however, usually do not cherish such scruples. They seem to lead as it were a life of their own outside the sphere of Tantric *sādhana*. These texts can be divided into three types: 1. “Original” Tantras, such as the Dattātreya-tantra or the Dāmaras, including the “*kalpas*” which deal with worship and *mantras* of one deity, for instance the Ākāśabhairavakalpa (the word *kalpa* continues late Vedic usage known from such works as the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa or the Baudhāyanagrhyapariśiṣṭa); 2. Nibandhas “Digests”, mainly consisting of compilations from other sources; 3. Handbooks (e.g., Śaṃvaratantra) in the vernacular language, alternating with Sanskrit *mantras* or *ślokas*. Of these three, the Nibandhas may be older and of better composition than the “original Tantras”; it is sometimes even difficult to decide whether or not a text is an “original Tantra”. The situation as sketched above renders it advisable to discuss the types of Tantric magical literature here together.

The popularity of the magical rites is reflected by the wide circulation of the magical Tantras even in regions where “ordinary Tantras” are comparatively rare and by their very complicated history of transmission. Very often the texts or portions of them were transcribed under other titles; the *ślokas* (almost always of very mediocre style) were freely changed and replaced; *mantras* were transposed hither and thither; Sanskrit was mixed up with Hindī and other vernaculars; the scribes were among the most ignorant; many people cared about mystical incomprehensibility of spells and invocations rather than about their meaning; in short, we have an almost complete rule of the “law of the jungle” in this literary field. The literature of Tantric magic is rather voluminous and transmitted in a host of (usually small) manuscripts, but on closer inspection it dwindles fast because many different titles appear to cover the same or almost the same text, while a great number of stray *ślokas* (for instance, those containing recipes) turn up again and again in different treatises.²

Be this as it may, the origins of the literature must be very old³ and we find prototypes of magical Tantras in late Vedic texts such as the Atharvavedapariśiṣṭa⁴ where the ritual customs and the worship of gods are described with

² In the opinion of CH. CHAKRAVARTI, RASB Cat., p. XVI, the texts of magic are “generally spurious, anonymous and comparatively modern”.

³ The seventh century author BĀṆA in his Kādambarī (ed. P.V. KANE, Bombay 1921, p. 67, par. 216) describes a contemptible but picturesque temple guardian who owned a collection of books of magic.

⁴ On this text, see GONDA, Vedic Literature, p. 307f.

special reference to the supernatural results which can be gained by the worshipper. One of the most interesting passages from this text is chapter XXXV, the Āsurikalpa, where the effects of the Āsurī plant are described. There are a few independent tracts which bear the same title but decidedly belong to Tantric literature. They describe the (plant-)deity Āsurī and her *vidyās*, while specializing on their destructive effects⁵. Another such text is the Aṅgirahkalpa which also focuses on Āsurī⁶, while the Pratyāṅgirasakalpa ascribed to Bhūśura is a product of the Paippalāda school of Atharvavedic specialists of Orissa⁷. Its frame is a questioning of Brahmā by his son Atharvan, but further on of Aṅgiras by Pippalāda. Brahmā begins by expounding the greatness of the Atharvaveda, the adepts of which know the ten acts of magic; among these are *sānti* (pacification of evils), *vaśīkaraṇa* (subjugation of others to one's will), *stambhana* (immobilization, obstruction of others' movements) and *māraṇa* (liquidation). Also here, the *āsuri* plays an important role. Other interesting subjects are *mantras* of Kālī; a *balī* to Mahākālā; a chapter on Rākṣasas; defence against *krtyās* (female inimical spirits employed by sorcerers). There are also quotations from other sources: the PS, the ŚT, the Brahmasaṃhitā, and others.

It might be noted here that besides the Kalpas individual *mantras*, *vidyās* or *dhāraṇīs* (early prose spells especially favoured in Mahāyāna Buddhism)⁸ must have circulated through the centuries in great number. An early instance is furnished by a text recovered from Kuča in Chinese Turkestan which should be dated in any case before A. D. 1000.⁹ A more recent text conspicuous among the Kalpa literature by length as well as literary quality is the Ākāśabhairavakalpa, many Mss. of which are preserved¹⁰. It is a famous locus of ascription for smaller texts¹¹. The number of chapters and their mutual order vary in the

⁵ There is a considerable number of Mss. See NCC, II, p. 232; RASB Cat., p. 263f.; BORI Cat., p. 35f.; an edition of an Āsurikalpa "Atharvavedāntargata" by Ī. P. PĀMDE, Bombay (Lakṣmī-Veṅk. Press), 1921 A. D.—Some minor short tracts bear the title Ulūkakalpa; cf. BORI Cat., p. 60f.; RASB Cat., No. 6157.

⁶ RASB Cat., No. 6061 (828 *ślokas*).

⁷ Orissa Cat., No. 76, in 192 fols. See also D. BHATTACHARYYA, Fundamental Themes of the Atharvaveda, Poona 1968, p. 35f.

⁸ J. W. HAUSER, Die Dhāraṇī im nördlichen Buddhismus und ihre Parallelen in der sog. Mithraslithurgie, Stuttgart 1927; F. BERNHARD, Zur Entstehung einer Dhāraṇī, in ZDMG 117, 1967, p. 148–168.

⁹ J. FILIOZAT, Fragments de textes koutchéens, Paris 1948, p. 89f. ("Texte magique"); S. LÉVI, On a Tantrik Fragment from Kucha, in IHQ, XII, 1936, p. 197–214. The text contains i. a. a Brahmadāṇḍa "sceptre of Brahman", a prose litany applicable to exorcism; the directions for its use are given in the language of Kuča (Tocharian B).

¹⁰ See the NCC, II, p. 3; Nepal Cat., II, p. 120f.; RASB Cat., p. 98f.

¹¹ There are 89 titles in the NCC.—A Tanjore Ms. called Ākāśabhairavatantra in 3900 *ślokas* and 136 *paṭalas* is mainly devoted to the worship of Sāmrājyalakṣmī; its real title is Sāmrājyalakṣmīpīṭhikā (BORI Cat., p. 17; RASB Cat., p. XX). See also P. K. GODE, Ākāśabhairava-kalpa, an Unknown Source of the History of Vijayanagara, in GODE, Lit. Hist., II, p. 122–136 (reprint of an article in Karnatak Hist. Review, 1938).

Mss.; a Nepalese Ms. contains 78 *adhyāyas* while another one from Calcutta breaks off after chapter L (corresponding to chapter LVI in the Nepalese Ms.). A list of chapters in the NCC begins with XIV and runs up to LXXIII, after which only a number CI is added. As an author, the RASB Ms. mentions Śaṅkara, but in chapter XII it prefers Saṃkarṣaṇa. The contents are arranged according to deities worshipped, but the main object of reverence is Ākāśabhairava, a fearsome winged deity, a manifestation of Bhairava, who is invoked in various ways—of course by means of *mantras*—for the sake of exorcism¹². According to chapter III, the deity manifests itself in three forms, viz. Ākāśabhairava, Āsugāruḍa (second Kalpa, chs. XII–XV) and Śarabha (or Śārabha). The latter is again divided threefold, into Śarabha (Śārabha) proper, Sāluda or Sāluva, and Pakṣirāja. Among other deities mentioned are Bhadrakālī, Śūlinī (a form of Durgā), Virabhadra, Dhūmāvatī and Vaḍavānala. The pseudo-scientific treatment of the *mantras* (constant registration of the Ṛṣi, the imaginary Vedic metre, etc.) suggests that the text is not very old. On the other hand, the Sanskrit is on a reasonable level; it is decidedly better than in most of the literature of this kind. The structure of the chapters tends to be as follows: announcement of a *mantra*; mention of the Ṛṣi, metre, deity and other particulars; a meditation stanza in Kāvya metre; the *mantra* itself, usually in prose, but communicated in *śloka* circumscription; directions for how to obtain mastery of the *mantra*; results to be obtained by a correct procedure.

As an instance of a Kalpa devoted to the worship of a single deity¹³ for the sake of realizing one's objectives by magical means we mention the Kumārasaṃhitā which specializes in the *mantra* of Vidyāgaṇeśa; the text is also called Vidyāgaṇapatikalpa¹⁴. The results are described in terms of the Six Acts; the outward form is an interlocution between Brahmā and Śiva. The ninth chapter, Vāñchākālapatā, also occurs separately.

According to an old tradition, a powerful Tantra was revealed by the Bhairava Phetkārīn "Howling One" who had obtained *siddhi* by means of the Kālasaṃkarṣiṇīmantra, one of the oldest *mantras* found in the Tantric literature¹⁵. A Phetkārītantra is found in the ATV list as No. 2, and an important source of magic ritual is indeed preserved under the name Phetkārīṇītantra; the eponymous deity seems therefore to have changed sex during the early period of

¹² Some particulars on medieval worship of this deity are given by REGMI, Medieval Nepal, II, p. 610 and 611. See also A.W. MACDONALD and A. VERGATI STAHL, Newar Art, Warminster, U.K., 1979, plates 66 and 67, and the text on p. 86 and p. 104 (n. 30). The deity is worshipped at Bhatgaon and Kathmandu.

¹³ The Kriyākālaguṇottaratānta is divided into three Kalpas named after deities; see below, p. 127.

¹⁴ NCC, IV, p. 211; RASB No. 6056.

¹⁵ BAGCHI, Studies, p. 12. The Piṅgālāmata mentions Phetkārī as a portion of the Brahmayāmala; BAGCHI, o.c., p. 107.

the tradition. In the most recent printed edition¹⁶, the text contains 21 chapters and nearly 1400 *śloka*s. It reckons itself to the Paścimāmnāya (colophon to chapter VI), but shows no affinity to other texts of that group. The contents are chiefly made up of a collection of magically potent *mantras*, directions for their use and expatiations on their effects. The Phetkārīṇītantra is not a dialogue and at the beginning there is an invocation of a chosen deity (Ugrakālī manifesting herself as a *krtyā*) and an enumeration of sources. This gives the text the character of a digest, despite its title and anonymity. Chapter I gives the main particulars of the *mantraśāstra*; different shapes of the firepit (fire-sacrifice is a necessary concomitant of a ceremony of Sanskritized magic) are discussed in the second *paṭala*. The long chapter III gives various details on the method of worship, followed by an authoritative survey of the particulars to be observed in the case of each of the six main acts of magic (*ṣaṭ karmāṇi*)¹⁷, interspersed with further elements of *mantra* lore. There is a remarkably practical way of description which must have rendered the text suitable for didactical purposes. In the following chapters, special attention is paid to *mantras* of Kukkuṭa (chs. IV and V), Uccīṣṭacaṇḍālīnī (ch. VI), Dhūmāvātī (chs. VII, XVII), various forms of Kālī and Durgā (chs. IX, X, XII–XVI)¹⁸; Ugratārā (ch. XI); Ceṭikā (ch. XXI). The twentieth chapter treats of the ten *saṃskāras* of *mantras*. Chapter XVI (Lavaṇamantra) bears a close similarity to chapter XXXIV of the Prapañcasāratāntra. In general, the text abounds in descriptions of eccentric rites such as worship on cremation grounds by means of human or animal flesh, cats' hair, menstrual blood etc.; the wearing of amulets; meditation on oneself as incorporating a fearsome deity; sacrifice of symbolical representations of the enemy; solemnly causing dry leaves to be taken along by the wind in order to drive an enemy away, and so on. A peculiar feat of meditation is described in 15,234f.:

“One should mutter the *mantra* while meditating on the Goddess Kuṇḍalī, in the shape of a serpent flaming with the fires of destruction, arisen from the (Mūl)ādhāra and reaching the air through the channel of the Suṣuṃṇā; with her mouth she grasps the enemy and returns to her own abode”.

Of small importance is the Picchilātāntra, a short tract on Kālī worship and magical application of *mantras*; it is quoted a few times in modern di-

¹⁶ Ed. G. KAVIRAJ, in *Tantrasaṃgraha*, Varanasi 1892 Śaka (A.D. 1970), Vol. II, p. 161–306. There are older editions, e.g. in R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA's *Vividhātāntrasaṃgraha*, Calcutta 1877–84 (20 chs.).

¹⁷ The Six Acts are not always the same in the literature. The most common enumeration is: *sānti* “pacification”, *vaśīkaraṇa* “subjugation”, *stambhana* “immobilization”, *uccāṭana* “eradication”, *vidveṣaṇa* “sowing dissension” and *māraṇa* “liquidation” (i.e. “destruction of an enemy”). See GOUDRIAAN, *Māyā*, chapter VI.

¹⁸ The long ch. 16 is devoted to Agnidurgā, the deity of the stanza *Jātāvedase sunavāma sōmam* . . . , RV 1,99,1; TĀr 10,1,16 etc. In Rgvidh 1,22,4f. it is prescribed for protection during a journey and various other perils (for this text, see J. GONDA, *Vedic Lit.*, p. 37f.).

gests¹⁹. The Śalyatantra, somewhat longer, deals with the counteracting of poison or of demons and planets, supernatural faculties such as going through the air with magic shoes, and elements from the Six Acts²⁰. The Dattātreya-tantra is a popular tract of about 700 *ślokas* on Śaṭkarman rites²¹. Its Sanskrit is without pretention; style and presentation are of the most simple kind. It served as a repository of recipes for practisers who did neither bother about medical standards nor about literary proficiency. The title is due to the presentation of the matter as an interlocution between Śiva and Dattātreya, a less known incarnation of Viṣṇu of Tantric habits. The number of chapters varies from twenty to thirty.

According to theory, a special class of Tantras was constituted by the Kakṣa-putaṣa ("Armpits", perhaps a reference to their great secrecy?), but the only text of importance of this genre which has come down to us²² seems to be the (Siddhanāgārjuna)kakṣapuṭa, ascribed to the Siddha Nāgārjuna²³. It must have been considered authoritative in its field for a long time and was freely relied upon by a host of compilers. It is also known under various other titles, e.g. Kaccapuṭa, Kakṣapuṭatantra or Rasaratnākara²⁴; in the latter case it is sometimes ascribed to (Siddha) Nityanātha or Pārvatīputra Nityanātha²⁵. Estimates of the size of the work also differ greatly: the number of *ślokas* in the larger versions lies between 2000 and 3000. The transmission of the text is most com-

¹⁹ RASB, No. 5991 (incomplete); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 371.

²⁰ Orissa Cat., No. 96; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 620, referring to R. MITRA, Notices, 2255.

²¹ Manuscripts abound all over India (cf. NCC, VIII, p. 314); there are several editions, e.g. those by J. VIDYASAGAR in: *Indrajālavidyāsaṃgraha*, Calcutta 1915 (bad ed.); by B.M. PANDEY, Varanasi 1963; by ŚYĀMASUNDARALĀLA TRIPĀTHĪ, Bombay 1909, re-ed. 1965, in 24 chs. See further IOL-SB, I, p. 712.

²² There is at least one Ms. of an Akṣakakṣapuṭī while the titles Bhuvaneśvarī- and Amṛtasamjīvanīkakṣapuṭa have also been transmitted.

²³ On this personage, reputed to have lived in the eighth cent. A.D., see ELIADE, *Yoga*; J. FILLIOZAT, *La doctrine classique de la médecine indienne*, Paris 1949, p. 10; J. FILLIOZAT, Review of P.C. RAY, *Chemistry*, in: *Isis*, vol. 49, 1958, p. 362f. Buddhist tradition recorded by HUAN-TSANG ascribes alchemical practices to Nāgārjuna, the founder of the Mādhyamika school (first cent. A.D.).

²⁴ There is a Buddhist Rasaratnākara on alchemy; cf. P.C. RAY, *Chemistry*, p. 116, 129f.

²⁵ NCC III, p. 110f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 88; RASB Cat., p. 266f.; BORI Cat., p. 67f. The number of Mss. is very large, more than 100 occurring in the NCC, most of them under the title Kakṣapuṭa. Of the editions, we mention that by J. VIDYASAGAR's sons in: *Indrajālavidyāsaṃgraha*, Calcutta 1915, p. 264-390 ("Siddhanāgārjunakakṣapuṭa"); by the Vasumati Press, Calcutta B.S. 1339 (A.D. 1932) in 31 chs.; the ed. by RAM VENKATACHALAPATI, Wijayawada 1958 (with Telugu trsl.) is a mere extract of 196 stanzas.—A Siddhanāgārjunakakṣapuṭa has been translated into Tibetan (Tanjur, Rgyud, 23, 2). This is a different text according to FILLIOZAT, *Fragments kouthéens*, p. 10f.

plicated. There seem to be two main versions, viz. 1. *Kakṣapuṭa* (tantra) in twenty or twenty-one *paṭalas*, probably the oldest; and 2. *Rasaratnākara* by Nityanātha. This latter version consists of two sub-versions: a. *Mantrakhaṇḍa* in fourteen *upadeśas*; b. *Siddhakhhaṇḍa* (or *Mantrasāra* or *Ratnasāroddhāra*) in five *upadeśas*. A sub-sub-version is: b'. *Siddhikhhaṇḍa*, in seven *upadeśas*²⁶. These two latter varieties are relatively short. The small number of chapters is partly due to combinations of several subjects treated in separate chapters in version 2a. Thus, the chapters II–V, which deal with different aspects of subjugation by magic, have been taken together as ch. I. Version 2 usually omits the subjects treated in the chapters XV–XX of version 1. The arrangement of subjects in version 1 is: General prescriptions on mantra (I); *Vaśikaraṇa* (II–V); *Ākarsaṇa* “Attraction” (VI–VIII); destructive rites (IX–XI); spectacular feats of magic or “jugglery” (*kautuka*; *indrajāla*; XII, XIII); coercion of *Yakṣiṇis* (XIV); detection of hidden objects, especially hoards (XV, XVI); rendering oneself invisible (XVII); going through the air (XVIII); delaying the moment of death (*kālavāñcana*; XIX); miscellaneous. The latter part of the text (XII f.) is preoccupied with various kinds of *siddhi* which are not usually associated with the Six Acts, the subject of the chapters II–X.

Another magical text ascribed to Nāgārjuna is the *Āścaryayogamālā* which is especially known in the West of India. It has been commented upon in A. D. 1240 by a Śvetāmbara Jain called Guṇākara²⁷.

The *Ḍāmaras* or *Ḍāmaratantras* are sometimes considered to be one of the four types of Tantric *śāstra*²⁸ and the names of several *Ḍāmaras* have indeed been transmitted²⁹. It is not clear what was the characteristic feature of this group of texts, except that they were preoccupied with magic or exorcism. In practice we find only the *Bhūtaḍāmara* (or *Bhūtoḍḍāmara*) tantra as an important text. There are Buddhist and Hindu versions. At least the Buddhist version is a text of respectable age which was estimated by B. Bhattacharyya to belong to the first part of the seventh century A. D.³⁰. The main deity of

²⁶ Cf. A. WEBER, *Verz. der Skt.- und Prakrit HSS. der Kgl. Bibl. zu Berlin*, II, Dritte Abteilung, Berlin 1892, p. 1184.

²⁷ Cf. KAVIRAJ, *TSāh*, p. 55; BORI Cat., p. 32f. — Ed. by BALADEVAPRASĀDA MIŚRA, Bombay (Śrivenkaṭeśvara Press) V.S. 1970 (1914 A. D.).

²⁸ H. D. BHATTACHARYYA, in *HCIP*, IV, 1956, p. 316. The other three are *Āgama*, *Yāmala* and *Tantra*.

²⁹ The *Śabdakalpadrūma*, s. v. *Ḍāmara*, recognizes six principal *Ḍāmaras* named after deities headed by Śiva, but the list looks most suspicious; cf. B. BHATTACHARYYA, *The Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara*, in: *Proc. and Tr. AIOC*, 6, Patna 1930 (ed. at Patna 1933), p. 349–370, on p. 353. Besides, the *Śaktiḍāmara* is mentioned in the *Samayācāratantra*; the *Gauriḍāmara* exists in a Ms. RASB No. 5859 (Cat. p. 53) which is “full of Hindī incantations” (Cat.), although the beginning is in Sanskrit. A *Tridaśaḍāmara* seems to have been known in Nepal in the twelfth century (see below).

³⁰ B. BHATTACHARYYA, *The Cult of Bhūtaḍāmara* (see n. 29).

the Hindu version³¹ is Bhūtaḍāmara, identified with Krodhīśa or Krodhabhairava, one of the well-known group of eight Bhairavas. The size varies from about 500 to about 1000 *ślokas*. The contents largely consist of Ṣaṭkarman rites of a simple and popular character. Other deities mentioned are Sundarī, Kātyāyanī, Ceṭhikās (“maidservants” of Durgā), Piśācis, Bhūtinīs, Apsaras, Yakṣiṇīs, Nāginīs, Kinnarīs, Aparājītā etc.

The Uḍḍāmara (or Uḍḍāmareśvara) tantra, which likewise describes the ritual of the Six Acts, is sometimes confounded with the Uḍḍīśatantra of which it seems to contain a particular version (see below). Many *stotras* and *pūjā* tracts, several of them directed to Kārtavīrya, ascribe themselves to it³². A short but old Ms. called Pratyāṅgirāvidhi³³, declaring to be the eighty-first chapter of the Tridaśaḍāmara, describes the methods of exorcizing the Śākinīs and other demons.

A difficult case for philologists is the Uḍḍīśatantra, a typical instance of a treatise of magic of the inferior kind, but nevertheless enjoying a great popularity all over India. The text also appears under other titles, especially Rāvaṇoḍḍīśa or Virabhadratantra; sometimes Uḍḍāmaratantra. The number of Mss. recorded in the NCC (II, p. 291f.) amounts to about 80, and there are a great many editions, all of them unscholarly and uncritical³⁴. The “Uḍḍīśatantra” is quoted as a source in several texts, among them the Kaksapuṭatantra, but it is doubtful if we have in all these cases to do with the same text. After a somewhat closer inspection we can discern a few versions from the mass of modern Mss. and editions which together form what we might call the Uḍḍīśa cluster. All of them have in common the inferiority of the Sanskrit; the relatively short size of about 400–700 *ślokas*; a widespread parallelism with the Dattātreyatantra; and, in chapter I, an introduction of about 24–40 *ślokas*. The

³¹ Ed. in 16 chs. by R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA, Calcutta B.S. 1292 (A.D. 1885), new ed. B.S. 1338 (1931 A.D.). There are several Mss. in the RASB: Cat., p. 46f.; see also R. MITRA in Bikaner Cat., p. 577 (15 chs.); R. MITRA, Notices, 1598; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 444; Nepal Cat., II, p. 119.—A Brhadbhūtaḍāmara (identical text?) was edited in 15 chs. by R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA in Indrajālādisaṃgraha, Calcutta 1879. A few Mss. also bear this title.

³² Ed. JAGAD DHAR ZADOO, Srinagar 1947 (KSTS, 70); cf. also IOL-SB, III, p. 2781; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 69f.; NCC II, p. 290 (about 25 Mss.). There are 15 or 16 chapters.

³³ RASB No. 5861 (Cat., p. 57), dated N.S. 309 = A. D. 1189.

³⁴ Among these are the ed. in 20 chs. in R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA’s Indrajālādisaṃgraha, Calcutta 1879; the ed. by ŚYĀMSUNDARĪLĀL TRIPĀTHĪ, Kalyan-Bombay 1954 (Lakṣmīvenkaṭeśwar Press); ed. by M.P. VYAS, Varanasi n.d. “Uddisha Tantra of Rāvaṇa”; ed. by BALADEVAPRASĀDA MIŚRA, Moradabad 1898; ed. by RĀJĒŚ DĪKṢIT, Delhi n.d. (Hind Pustak Bhaṇḍār).—A “Kautukaratnabhāṇḍāgāra”, ed. RĀMALAGNA PAṆDEY (Benares, n.d.), consists of some introductory *ślokas* from the Uḍḍīśatantra followed by a host of magical prescriptions mainly in Hindi. Many cheap editions of this kind are in circulation.—For the Mss. of the Uḍḍīśatantra, cf. the NCC, II, p. 291f.; BORI Cat., p. 45f. (5 Mss.); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 71f.

versions are: 1. Uḍḍāmara or Uḍḍāmareśvara Tantra, alias Mantracintāmaṇi, a dialogue between Śiva and Pārvatī in about 700 *ślokas* and mostly 16 chapters (see also above s.v. Uḍḍāmaratantra). The introduction contains about 24 stanzas. Although Śaṭkarman terminology is frequent, the divisions of the work are not based upon it (Bhūtakaraṇa, Añjana, Aphrodisiacs, etc.). 2. Uḍḍiśatantra, alias Rāvaṇoḍḍiśa, a Śiva-Rāvaṇa dialogue of ten chapters and about 400 *ślokas*. The introduction is in about 40 *ślokas*, followed by rites of destruction (of an enemy). A passage from it may be quoted as fairly representative of the contents of these tracts (1, 58f.):

“One should collect dust from the footstep of one’s enemy on a Tuesday; having sprinkled it with cow’s urine, one should thoughtfully prepare an image [of the enemy] and set it up on a pedestal on a quiet place near the bank of a river; one should bury a terrible pin made of copper in its chest; at its left side, one should daily worship Bhairava (and?) Kṛṣṇa with offerings . . . [after a few other rituals] . . . one should prepare a seat made of a tiger skin and spend the night at its right side; looking towards the South, one should zealously mutter this mantra: ‘Om, Honour to the Lord Mahākāla whose lustre is equal to the fire of destruction; liquidate liquidate, destroy destroy this enemy of mine called N.N.; *hum phaṭ svāhā*’. For ten thousand times one should mutter this *mantra* . . .; within twenty-nine days, destruction [of the enemy] is a certainty”.

Chapter II begins with a discussion of the rosary (Mālānirṇaya). The work is divided mainly into sections according to Śaṭkarman terminology, and shows traces of systematization. The first eleven stanzas are identical with Mahānirvāṇatantra 1, 1–11, with one more half-*śloka*, a fact which suggests that the MNT is the borrower. 3. Virabhadratantra, alias Mantrakośa, in which the introduction contains 32 *ślokas*, followed by a great number of *mantras* without an apparent principle of arrangement³⁵. 3a. Uḍḍiśavirabhadra, a shorter and very corrupt version of 3. The introduction contains only 14 *ślokas*. 4. The Kriyoḍḍiśatantra by “Indrajit”³⁶.

Besides these books of magic, there is an Uḍḍiśottarakhaṇḍa³⁷ which seems to be a completely different text of Kaula character, without preoccupation with sorcery. The same can be said of an Uḍḍāmareśvaratantra preserved in Orissa³⁸.

Akin to the preceding texts, but constituting a group of its own, are the Śābara (or: Sāvāra) Tantras. Not many texts are known to belong to it, and their contents are usually restricted to an enumeration of incantations, often in Sanskrit alternating with Hindī. There might be a connection between the

³⁵ Cf. also KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 603. It should be noted that the title Virabhadra figures in the old list of 18 Rudrāgamas.

³⁶ Ed. in 21 *paṭalas* by LĀLMAṆĪ ŚĀRMĀ, Bombay (Veñk. Press) V.S. 1981 (A.D. 1924); 3rd ed. revised by BALADEVA PRASĀD MIŚRA, A.D. 1967. For other eds., see NCC, V, p. 140; IOL-SB, II, p. 1365.

³⁷ NCC, II, p. 292, records 9 Mss.; the Ms. RASB 4619 consists of about 350 *ślokas* and 6 chapters.

³⁸ Orissa Cat., No. 7.

term *Sāvāra* and the generic name of the *Samvara* or *Śambhara* Tantras known from Buddhist Tantrism. In principle there are the *Divya*-, *Kālī*- and *Siddha*-*śābaratantras*, but the titles are confused and may occur after each other in the same Ms.³⁹ *Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa* (eighteenth century) in his treatise *Kāpālika-matavyavasthā* tries to show a historical relation between the *Śābara* texts and the *Kāpālikas*. He freely quotes from the *Śābaratantras*, i. a. a list of twelve “*Kāpālikas*” (headed by *Ādinātha*) and their twelve pupils (headed by *Nāgārjuna*) who are said to be the proclaimers of the *Śābaramantras*. There is, however, more reason to connect them with the *Nātha* cult⁴⁰. The two main subjects are mastery of the *mantra* of *Śābara*, a minor deity of magical potency, and *mantras* of a variety of other gods such as *Yoginis*, *Kṣetrapāla*, *Gaṇeśa*, *Kālī* etc., for magical purposes. A *Bṛhat-śābaratantra* went through a few early editions⁴¹. Of the *Siddha*- or *Siddhisāvaratantra*, already referred to in the *Kakṣapuṭatantra*, there are two Mss., both incomplete, in the RASB⁴². A (*Pañcadrāviḍa*)*śābaracintāmaṇi* ascribed to *Ādinātha* contains vernacular versions of *mantras* to *Kālī* and others said to have been revealed by *Ādinātha*’s five pupils⁴³. *Ādinātha*, who is known as *Matsyendranātha*’s teacher⁴⁴, obtained the *mantras* by *Īśvara*’s grace and proclaimed them to his pupils in the languages of *Gauḍa*, *Kerala*, *Karṇāṭa*, *Andhra* and *Gurjara*.

The *Kālarudratantra* “from the *Kālikāgama*”⁴⁵ describes destructive rites to be executed with the help of *mantras* of fearsome goddesses such as *Dhūmāvātī*, *Ārdrapaṭī* or *Kālarātrī* (*Kālarudra*’s spouse). Each chapter bears the epithet *ātharvaṇāstravidyā* “missile spell of the *Atharvans*”.

The literature of magic has also been enriched by a number of digests. A few of them may be registered here. The *Kāmyayantroddhāra*, preserved in a Ms. of the fourteenth century, is perhaps the first dated treatise on the subject from Bengal. It is ascribed to an author vaguely called *Parivrājakācārya* “Teacher-mendicant”⁴⁶.

The *Haramekhalā*⁴⁷ is a much larger work divided into seven *paricchēdas*. It is mentioned in the *Kakṣapuṭatantra* as one of the sources consulted. The RASB Ms. is said to deal with “magic rites”, while H. P. Sastri in the *Nepal Catalogue*

³⁹ Thus in RASB No. 8355. The title *Dattātreyasiddhisopāna* occurs also.

⁴⁰ The MS. RASB No. 6099 in its colophon mentions *GORAKṢA* as an author; the title *Gorakṣasiddhisopāna* is one of the alternatives in RASB No. 8355.

⁴¹ Ed. *HARIŚAMKAR ŚĀSTRĪ*, with Hindi trsl., Cawnpore 1900; new ed. Moradabad 1906; ed. from the *Lakṣmīvenkateśvara* Press, Kalyan 1841 Śaka (1918–19 A. D.); cf. IOL-SB, I, p. 555.

⁴² RASB Nos. 6097 (160 *ślokas*) and 6098 (210 + 914 *śl.*).

⁴³ RASB No. 6100. The beginning is quoted in the Cat., p. 285f.

⁴⁴ S. B. DASGUPTA, *Obscure Cults*, p. 208, 377, 383, 391.

⁴⁵ RASB No. 6090; cf. NCC IV, p. 35. There are about 880 *ślokas*.

⁴⁶ NCC III, p. 366; *CHAKRAVARTI*, *Tantras*, p. 66.

⁴⁷ RASB No. 6555 (Cat., p. 692); *Nepal Cat.*, II, p. 111f.; *Trivandrum Triennial Cat.*, 999.

characterizes the contents as “Hindu medicine”. Both Mss. evidently contain the same work, because the first stanzas quoted in both catalogues are identical.

There are a number of treatises which in a more or less methodical manner deal with the Six Acts of magic (see note 17 to this chapter). The most widespread of these seems to be the *Ṣaṭkarmadīpikā* by no less an authority than Kṛṣṇānanda Vidyāvāgīśa, the celebrated Bengali author of the *Tantrasāra*⁴⁸. In the introductory stanza the work is called *Kṛtyāpallavadīpikā*; in essence, it is a compilation of passages on the subject taken (without reference) from various sources. Thus, the first chapter (*uddēśa*) contains many stanzas from the 23rd chapter of the *Śāradātilaka*. This chapter deals with the general observances (*sāmānyadharma*) preparatory to any magic ritual. Because references are lacking, it is extremely difficult to decide (except for the introduction) whether some parts of the work are the original product of the author or not. Chapter II contains general prescriptions on fire-sacrifice etc.; the large third chapter contains the speciality of this text: the attainment of *śānti*, especially the cure of diseases. This part of the work, whether original or not, in any case contains some interesting ritual descriptions. The remaining sections describe non-pacificatory acts; curiously enough, in the colophons to these chapters figures the title *Śāntikalpa*. A good instance of what may happen to such texts is furnished by the *Vaśakāryamañjarī* (or *Ṣaṭkarmamañjarī*) ascribed to Rājārāma Tarkavāgīśa⁴⁹. This tract, at least in its former part, appears to have been copied almost verbatim from the *Ṣaṭkarmadīpikā*.

The *Kāmaratna* (a few times called *Kāmatantra*, *Kāmaratnākara* or *Siddha-dākinī*) is an extremely popular treatise on the Six Acts and other kinds of illusionism. It is ascribed to different authors: in most Mss., Śrīnātha is mentioned, in some others, Pārvatīputra (or Gaurīputra) Nityanātha or Siddhanātha (also the reputed author of a version of the *Kakṣapuṭatantra*), while in a still other group of mostly Bengali Mss. the honour is reserved to Nāga Bhaṭṭa⁵⁰. These speculations about the authorship are possible because the compiler, contrary to the common practice, does not mention his name in the introductory stanzas. The great number of popular editions (at least sixteen) testifies to the demand which existed for the performances described in the text⁵¹. The

⁴⁸ Ed. of the *Ṣaṭkarmadīpikā* in *Indrajālavidyāsamgraha*, ed. by J. VIDYASAGAR's sons, Calcutta 1915, p. 179-264; for older eds., cf. IOL-SB, I, p. 709; NCC, V, p. 13; RASB Cat., p. 681.

⁴⁹ RASB Cat., p. 687.

⁵⁰ On the Mss., see BORI Cat., p. 86f.; NCC, III, p. 354f. In the latter catalogue the name of ŚRĪNĀTHA occurs in about 50 Mss., that of (PĀRVATĪPUTRA) NITYANĀTHA in about 15 and that of NĀGABHAṬṬA in seven Mss.

⁵¹ Ed. by J. VIDYASAGAR's sons, in: *Indrajālavidyāsamgraha*, Calcutta 1915, p. 22-131 (author: NĀGABHAṬṬA); ed. JVĀLĀPRASĀDA MIŚRA, with a Hindi comm., Bombay 1842 Śaka (1920 A.D.) (author: NITYANĀTHA); an Assamese version was edited with an English trsl. by H.G. TATTABHUSAN, Shillong 1928 (incorrectly recorded in the NCC as a Skt. ed. with Assamese trsl.). For lists of other eds., see IOL-SB, II, p. 1240f. and NCC, III, p. 354f.

number of *śloka*s varies between 800 and 1200 (one elaborate version is estimated at about 1900); there are usually 15 or 16 chapters (*upadeśa*). After an invocation of Śiva and a laconic introduction of one *śloka* the general rules of the Six Acts are succinctly treated; this is followed by a chapter on Vaśikaraṇa and other acts of magic. The *mantras* are usually communicated without any particulars about the worship of the deity they represent; all attention is concentrated on the method of preparing the recipes to be administered or other devices to be executed. They may be very simple, such as the following (Indra-jālavidyāsamgraha ed., p. 30):

“One should present the root of the black Aparājitā plant, mixed up with some betel, to a woman who refuses to come under one’s control; she will come under one’s control, but not by another method. One should administer it to her after saying the *mantra* ‘*Aṃ hrūṃ svāhā*’ over it”.

While reading such a prescription which is almost completely stripped of the intricate particulars of herb lore found often in texts like this, one should remember that the compiler, the scribes, or even the editor may have omitted one or more stanzas in order to simplify the performance; the words “not by another method” are a standardized expletive found in many *śloka*s like these. The *mantra* does not contain the name of a deity, nor is there any reference to such a deity in the text. The *mantra* must have been thought to work automatically. But, we must say, the bulk of the recipes found is more complicated, the *mantras* are longer and indeed furnished with the name of the deity (in most cases a manifestation of Rudra or Devī). A number of erotic devices such as, e.g., for bringing about an increase in sexual potency is among the text’s specialities; the subject includes the cure of venereal diseases or of infertility, and also assistance during childbirth. Among other performances collected under the head “*kautuka*” in the latter part of the text figure the cure of diseases of the eyes and other ailments, the ability to detect hidden treasures or to render oneself invisible, and the treatment of wounds caused by snakebite or attacks of venomous insects. The manipulation of Yakṣiṇīs who procure all kinds of earthly goods can also be found here.

In short, the Kāmaratna is a mine of information for those who try to administer, on the demand of the common man, supernatural means of fulfilling basic needs and desires. It can be safely assumed that several small treatises which contain matter under the term *indrajāla*⁵² have been largely compiled from sources like those discussed above. Because such tracts of *Indrajāla* are generally of small size and value, we can dispense with them here⁵³. The same can be said of the titles characterized by the word *kautuka* “wondrous per-

⁵² “Indra’s net”, i. e. magic and illusionism; in a stricter sense: creating something out of nothing. For the implications of this term, see GOUDRIAAN, *Māyā*, p. 211 f.

⁵³ For some titles, see the NCC, II, p. 250 f.; for a few editions: IOL-SB, II, p. 1089.

formances”⁵⁴. The Nidhidarśana “Discovery of Treasures” by Rāma Vājapeyin deals with a particular rite in this sphere⁵⁵. Such treasures are often said to be guarded by serpents and demons who have to be exorcized by powerful *mantras*. Exorcism is also the subject in the tract called after the Sugrīva[va]-śaṃkaraṇī vidyā⁵⁶ “Spell which subjugates Sugrīva”. With the assistance of this legendary powerful monkey leader a host of evil spirits can be banished and supernatural feats realized.

Alchemy, i.e. the preparation of precious metals, especially gold, by complicated pseudo-scientific procedures, also produced its Tantras. The tradition has always been brought into connection with the Siddhas, individualist practisers of (*haṭha*) *yoga* reputed for their possession of eternal youth and health⁵⁷. Several monographs in Sanskrit are devoted to this subject which is treated here only in short. Most of these works bear titles beginning with Rasa-, “elixir”, literally “flavour”; the science itself is called Rasāyana⁵⁸. In the course of history, there is perhaps a tendency to shift the emphasis from the search for immortality by transmutation of elements to a medically oriented outlook. P.C. Ray⁵⁹ distinguishes a “Tantric” (A.D. 700–1300) and a “iatro-chemical” period (A.D. 1300–1550); in the latter, there is more attention to realities and the goal is shifted to concrete results in the field of medicine.

Perhaps the oldest text preserved to us in this group is the Kākacaṇḍeśvarī-mata⁶⁰. Its structure is that of an “original Tantra” of the old “Mata” tradition, in which Bhairava is interrogated by Kākacaṇḍeśvarī “Violent Crow Lady”. The Sanskrit is awkward; there is very little syntax, so that the meaning is often very difficult to ascertain. There are about 700 *śloka*s. At the outset, Bhairava remarks that the Vedas by reason of their advanced age cannot procure *siddhi* any more. The goddess then poses a series of questions, the first of which are after the identity of the soul (*jīva*), the reason for its bondage in matter and the law of *karman* and rebirth. These are succinctly answered. The *jīva* is no other than the *ātman*; its bondage is a function of the activity of *karman* which leads to ignorance (*ajñāna*); *saṃsāra* is maintained by the *jīva*’s unfamiliarity with material devices of immortalization (*dravyopāya*). The Lady

⁵⁴ Interesting is the Kautukacintāmaṇi preserved in the RASB as No. 6564 (Cat., p. 697f.). Several other texts are also known under this title.

⁵⁵ RASB Cat., p. 687.

⁵⁶ RASB No. 6557. The Ms. seems to be unique.

⁵⁷ On the Siddha tradition, see especially ELIADE, *Yoga*, p. 299f.; 403; K.V. ZVE-LEBIL, *The Poets of the Powers*, London (Rider) 1973.

⁵⁸ Various old editions of Rasa texts exist. The reader is referred to IOL-SB, III, p. 2138f. and to a standard work on the subject, P.C. RAY, *Chemistry*, p. 113f.

⁵⁹ P.C. RAY, *Chemistry*, p. 158f.

⁶⁰ See Nepal Cat., I, p. 155f., where the first pages of the text are printed; IOL Cat., No. 2587. There were two editions under this title Kākacaṇḍīśvarīkalpatantra, ed. RĀMAKRṢṆA ŚARMA, Varanasi 1929 (HSG 73); Kākacaṇḍīśvarītantra, ed. VIŚVEŚVARADAYĀLU VAIDYARĀJA, Etawah 1930. Chs. 1 and 2 and a fragment of ch. 6 were edited in P.C. RAY, *Chemistry*, p. 345–50.

then asks for the means of attaining various powers including flying through the air, winning the love of divine ladies, magic ointment and pills, and the secrets of Rasāyana without which *siddhi* is impossible.

The Suvāṃtantra is a much younger and, at least in its preserved form, shorter text⁶¹, clothed in the garb of an interrogation of Śiva by Paraśurāma. The subject is restricted to the production of pure gold by distillation. The same topic is dealt with in the Mr̥dānitānta⁶²; in its first lines, Pārvatī requests Śiva to show to his devotees the way to the destruction of poverty.

Several texts with a title beginning with Rasa- are of considerable age, in any case older than the two last-mentioned Tantras. Thus, we have a Rasārṇava⁶³ and a Rasārṇavakalpa⁶⁴. The former text, an interlocution between Bhairava and Pārvatī in 18 *paṭalas* and more than 2300 *ślokas*, can be considered a standard work. Its age has been estimated at about the twelfth century. The first three chapters contain introductory matter: Devī's question after the way to *jīvanmukti* (Bhairava: "even an ass is released after death", vs. 9), and expositions of the "history" of the tradition (*tantrāvatāra*), of initiation and assignation of *mantras* to the body. The fourth chapter treats of the apparatus (*yantra*; *mūṣū* "crucible"); the fifth and the sixth of herbs, mica (*abhraka*) and other ingredients. The various alchemical processes (sometimes accompanied by *mantras*) are then described. The last chapter gives some information on the consumption of the purified matter and the results to be obtained. The most conspicuous feature of the alchemical process is said to be the mixture of mercury, seed of Śiva, and mica, the seed of Gaurī⁶⁵; this will result in the destruction of death and poverty.

The Rasārṇavakalpa contains about a thousand *ślokas* and lacks a clear division into chapters; its date has been estimated, without convincing argumentation, at the eleventh century⁶⁶. The contents were classified into three groups: Rasāyanotpatti, a survey of alchemical rites (śl. 1-77); Rasaprakriyā "mercurial operations" (78-207); and Kalpaprabhoga, the largest part, containing the discussion of a great number of plants and minerals. The "mystical" view of mercury as a living being of supernatural potency is illustrated by the following lines from the Rasārṇavakalpa (130f.; 139f.):

⁶¹ RASB Cat., p. 288f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 709. The Mss. may contain only fragments; the numbering of the chs. is out of order. About three pages were edited in P.C. RAY, Chemistry, p. 443f.

⁶² Orissa Cat., No. 85 (copy from Madras); Trivandrum Cat. 1019.

⁶³ Crit. ed. by P.C. RAY and HARIŚCHANDRA KAVIRATNA, Calcutta 1910 (Bibl. Indica, vol. 175); cf. P.C. RAY, Chemistry, p. 118; 135f.

⁶⁴ RASB No. 5870; Cat., p. (67): "*Rudrayāmale Rasārṇavakalpam*". Ed. and trsl. of selected stanzas (those not dealing with technical processes have been omitted) by MIRA ROY and B.V. SUBBARAYAPPA, New Delhi 1976 (division of the work into 29 *kalpas*).

⁶⁵ See Rasārṇava 1, 34f.; P.C. RAY, Chemistry, p. 118.

⁶⁶ Edition (see n. 64), p. 3.

'I shall again proclaim another [rule, by which] the performer obtains *siddhi*; having deposited the mercury, mixed with the juice of [the plant] Harīndari in a cow's horn, O Beautiful One, one should put it into a heap of rice and there it stays "dead" . . .'⁶⁷ The Goddess said: 'How can the mercury, if commuted into a lifeless state, create life? How can it, being devoid of life itself, raise the dead to life?' Śiva said: 'When the mercury is swooned by means of the divine herb, it is freed of the goddess of death (? *kālīkā*) and comes to life, O Pārvatī; such mercury . . . removes the death of others; and the impurity of the eight metals is immediately destroyed by it. Who would dare to call mercury which went into the big swoon "dead"? It only lost its consciousness on account of the juice of the divine herb'.

Later texts of this kind⁶⁸, such as the Rasendracintāmaṇi by Dhundhukānātha⁶⁹ or the Rasakāmadhenu by Cūḍāmaṇi Mīśra, tend to contain compilations of earlier matter. Among the apocryphal Upaniṣads, there is a Rasopaniṣad of about 400 śloka⁷⁰.

A few Tantric texts specialize in astrology. Probably the oldest one preserved is the Yuddhajayārṇava "Ocean of [means to ascertain] victory in battle", a work of ten *paṭalas* preserved in a Newari Ms. of N.S. 217 (A.D. 1097)⁷¹. Its main concern is *svarodaya*, prediction of future events with the help of uttered sounds; the colophon gives Bhāṭṭotpala as the author's name. Another text of the same title, also found in Nepal, is introduced by Devī's request for explanation of the means of conquering demoniac influences by various devices of prediction and astrology⁷². The Yogasāgara, or, to be exact, a Bhṛḡusiddhānta ascribed to that text, likewise preserved in a Newari Ms.⁷³, deals with conjunctions of planets and Tantric rites to counteract their evil influences. A compendium called Candronmilana "Opening of the eyes", apparently destined to be a guide for royal advisers, has been characterized as an "astrological miscellany"⁷⁴; it covers a very wide field from prognostication to the methods of ascertaining the identity of thieves or finding the best sites for gardens, tanks etc.

Some Tantras are preoccupied with medical matters, in the first place the cure for poisoning (*viṣa*). The art and tradition of counteracting poison (Agada-

⁶⁷ On the "killing" of mercury, see P.C. RAY, Chemistry, p. 134 (from NĀGĀR-JUNA's Rasaratnākara), 139 and elsewhere.

⁶⁸ See P.C. RAY, Chemistry, p. 122f. The Tanjur contains a few Tibetan translations of early lost alchemical works in Sanskrit (o.c., p. 123f.).

⁶⁹ For old editions of this work, see IOL-SB, III, p. 2147. Two different works may be involved, but P.C. RAY, o.c., p. 159f., says that the authorship of the Rasendracintāmaṇi is "much disputed".

⁷⁰ Ed. K. SĀMBAŚIVA ŚĀSTRĪ, TrSS No. 92, Trivandrum 1928.

⁷¹ RASB Cat., p. 292f. (No. 6110). There are other old Mss. in the same library and in the Natl. Archives of Nepal; for the latter, see Nepal Cat., I, p. LXX, 81.

⁷² Nepal Cat., I, p. LXX, 81.—A third work of this title has been incorporated in the Agnipurāṇa as ch. 123–149 (ed. BALADEV UPADHYAYA, Varanasi 1966, KSS No. 174).

⁷³ RASB Cat., p. 296. It is dated N.S. 962 = A.D. 1842.

⁷⁴ Bikaner Cat., p. 578, No. 1253 (R. MITRA).

tantra) is alluded to already in late Vedic texts as *sarpavidyā*⁷⁵. The Yogaratnāvali ascribed to Śrīkaṇṭha, a work of at least 1200 *ślokas*⁷⁶, in its introduction gives some information on the tradition in this field. There are said to have been five mythical authorities (*parameṣṭhīn*) who proclaimed "all Tantras": Śiva, Rudra, Bhūteśa, Pakṣirāja (the Śaiva counterpart of Garuḍa) and Tumburu. Śiva is especially invoked in his manifestations as Nilakaṇṭha (swallower of the poison which came into existence as a by-product of the churning of the ocean by gods and Asuras). In a second stage, four teachers (*deśika*), called Anīpa, Bahurūpa, Haṃsa and Vighraha (?), proclaimed the Tantras in the four ages of the world. Twelve *viśatantras* are then enumerated (st. 8f.): Pakṣirāja, Śikhāyoga, Bindusāra, Śikhāṃṛta, Tottala, . . . kūṭa, Kṛtsnāṅga, Tottalottara, Kaṭṭha, Chāgatuṇḍa, Sugrīva and Karkaṭāmukha. Not one of these titles is found in the catalogues, although we have a Sugrīvavaśaṃkaraṇīvidyā (see above, p. 124). Besides the cure for poisoning, the Yogaratnāvali also deals with the counteracting of diseases caused by demons and evil planetary conjunctions; the *pūjā* of deities (Tripurā and others) is treated in the process.

A relatively old text in this group is the Kriyākālaguṇottaratantra. It dates from before the eleventh century, because it is quoted several times by Kṣemarāja in his commentary on the Netratantra, ch. XIX; the oldest Ms. is from A.D. 1184⁷⁷. It is an interlocution between Śiva and Kārttikeya. The latter questions his father after Gāruḍamantras (against poison) and the characteristics of serpents and of demons of various kinds, especially those who attack children. The work is divided into three *kalpas* named after Krodheśvara, Aghora and Jvareśvara.

A typical instance of "demonology" is furnished by the Kumāratantra. It is not a Tantra in the usual sense of the term but a short description of the symptoms of attacks of demons observed in young children, followed by the procedure of counteracting their effects by *mantras* etc. It does so in a highly formulaic manner which renders the text practically worthless from the medical point of view; but it was written for exorcists, not for physicians. Exactly because of this, the work must have attained celebrity already at a very early date, as is proved by the existing versions in Tamil, Chinese, Cambodian and Arabic⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ ŚatBr; ChUp, etc. Cf. P. HORSCH, Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur, Bern 1966, p. 22f.

⁷⁶ RASB Cat., p. 723; Nos. 6001 and 6002. Both Mss. are incomplete. A Baroda Ms. is estimated at 3700 *ślokas*, but this may be too much.

⁷⁷ Nepal Cat., II, p. 85f.; KṢEMARĀJA on NT 19, vss. 69, 81, 174f., 182. The size of the Nepalese Ms. has been estimated by H. P. SASTRI at 2100 *ślokas*.

⁷⁸ See the edition, French trsl. and study by J. FILLIOZAT, Étude de démonologie indienne. Le Kumāratantra de Rāvana, et les textes parallèles indiens, tibétains, chinois, cambodgien et arabe, Paris 1937. There are several Indian editions; seven are registered in the NCC, IV, p. 203f. The number of Mss. is surprisingly small (only 3 in the NCC). The title serves as a locus of ascription for some monographs in Sanskrit on Skanda worship; a Sanskrit Kumāratantra on this latter subject exists; cf. ZVELEBIL, Kumāratantra.

It might therefore be possible that the Sanskrit Kumāratantra, despite its literary insignificance, is older than any real Tantra described in this volume. The reputed author is Rāvaṇa, who is elsewhere known as a prince of demons but who in this milieu occupies the position of a tutelary deity of exorcism⁷⁹.

A similar field was covered by the Santānadīpikā "Light on [the protection of] children", only the sixth chapter of which seems to have been preserved under the title Bhāvacintāmaṇi⁸⁰. It deals especially with the manipulation of the planets for the sake of the promotion of childbirth and the protection of children.

Nārāyaṇa's Tantrasārasaṃgraha⁸¹ is a well-known handbook of popular medicine and magically oriented worship of deities in 32 chapters. It belongs to the South; its author is believed to have flourished in Kerala in the fifteenth or the sixteenth century⁸². The book is written in a not unpleasant, flowing style; the end of each chapter is foreshadowed by the transition from the *śloka* into a more elaborate metre. The first ten chapters, by far the most popular part of the work, contain matter relating to a cure for various kinds of poisoning. They have sometimes been put together under the title Viṣanārāyaṇīya⁸³. These chapters also constitute the most original part of the text. The main subjects discussed in the second part are: remedies for diseases caused by planets (*grahapīḍā*; XI–XIV); for other ailments (XV and XVI); counteracting evil magic (XVII and XVIII); illusionism (XIX) and worship of deities for various purposes (XX–XXXII). From a comparison with the second book (Mantrapāda) of the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati one learns that the Tantrasārasaṃgraha from ch. XI onwards is very probably a recast of that Mantrapāda⁸⁴. The reverse is true for the chs. I–X; here Nārāyaṇa's work offers the more complete version which has been abridged under Īśānaśiva's name as chs. XXXIX and XL of the Mantrapāda⁸⁵.

⁷⁹ FILLIOZAT, o.c., p. 159f.; T. GOUDRIAAN, Khadgarāvaṇa and his worship in Balinese and Indian Tantric sources, in WZKSA, 21, 1977, p. 143–169, on p. 165f.

⁸⁰ RASB No. 6037 (133 śl.); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 437, referring to R. MITRA, Notices, 1520.

⁸¹ Ed. M. DURAIŚWAMI AIYANGAR, Madras 1950 (Madras Govt. Or. Ser., No. XV), together with a commentary, presumably by the author himself (cf. the Skt. introduction by the editor, p. 27) which contains old and original material. The work should not be confounded with ĀNANDATĪRTHA's Tantrasārasaṃgraha which deals with Viṣṇu worship. See NCC, VIII, p. 99; RASB Cat., p. 344f.

⁸² His family lived in Śivapuram on the bank of the Nilā: vs. 32, 69.

⁸³ M. D. AIYANGAR, Preface to the edition, p. 1f.

⁸⁴ In the concluding stanza (32, 71) of the Tantrasārasaṃgraha NĀRĀYAṆA also uses the title Mantrapāda for his compendium. – The Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati is one of the Śaiva manuals of temple worship and spiritual discipline. On these, cf. GONDA, MRL, p. 213.

⁸⁵ For an assessment of the situation, see the article by T. GOUDRIAAN mentioned in n. 79 above. Some fragments are also found in the Agnipurāṇa, i. a. ch. 2 is almost identical with AgPur 294; parts of chs. 17 and 18 occur in AgPur 306; of ch. 20f., in AgPur 307f., etc.

Another parallel to the first part of the *Tantrasārasaṃgraha* is found in the thirteen chapters of the *Kāśyapaśaṃhitā*. This text claims to stand in the *Pāñcarātra* tradition, but cannot bear the comparison with the usual type of *Śaṃhitā* of that school⁸⁶.

Other semi-medical tracts of Tantric character are the *Gaurikañculikā* (or *-kañjalikā*)⁸⁷ and the *Sarvajvaravipāka*, a “*mantraśāstra*”, one of the host of texts which ascribe themselves to the *Rudrayāmala*⁸⁸.

⁸⁶ Ed. YATIRĀJA SAMPAT KUMĀRASVĀMIN of Melkote, Triplicane 1933. Cf. H.D. SMITH, *Bibliography*, I, p. 107f.; M.D. AIYANGAR, *Preface to the Tantrasārasaṃgraha*, p. 8; GONDA, *MRL*, p. 104.

⁸⁷ Ed. BHUVANCANDRA VASĀKA, Calcutta 1886; ŚYĀMASUNDARALĀLA TRIPĀTHĪ, Bombay 1831 Śaka (1910 A.D.). For the Mss., see *RASB Cat.*, p. 326f.; KAVIRAJ, *TSāh*, p. 195. According to some Mss., this text is a part of a *Gopālasaṃhitā*.

⁸⁸ *Bikaner Cat.*, p. 604 (No. 1315); “treats of the symptoms and treatment of various kinds of fever”.

CHAPTER VIII

DIGESTS OF MANTRAŚĀSTRA

Despite the great number of "Original Tantras", the larger part of Tantric literature consists of more or less systematically arranged descriptions of the contents of the tradition or of certain parts of it. These "digests" do not claim to be revealed; their authors usually mention their own names and sometimes give particulars about their life and doctrinal position in introductory or concluding stanzas. They often quote profusely from earlier sources of which they as a rule give the titles. The titles of the digests do not contain the word Tantra, but this term has sometimes (especially in the case of early digests) been attached to them secondarily.

A subgroup within this digest literature is constituted by those books which try to present an orderly survey, complete or not, of the origin, form, application and worship of the *mantras* of the gods which are taught in the Tantras. Since *mantra* and deity are considered identical, the description of the worship of *mantras* implies that of the deities concerned; it should therefore be clear that such collections, which moreover usually begin with a general description of the "science of *mantras*" (*mantravāda*, *mantraśāstra*) sometimes are precious sources of Tantric theory and ritual practice. It should be stressed in passing that the science of *mantras* is intricate and not easily mastered. The adept should always be aware that his handling of divine power demands the utmost care. He should know exactly how to render the *mantras* operative and never divulge their secrets. He should beforehand have subjected himself to a guru, undergone the *dikṣā* and practised yoga¹. The *mantra* (often not more than a mystic syllable, *biḥa*) is at first "extracted" by a process of selection (*mantroddhāra*) from the eternal womb of sonic creation, the mystical alphabet². When the *mantra* has been conferred to the initiated, it usually cannot work before a difficult and protracted preparatory ritual (*puraścaraṇa*) has been accomplished. Only then the *mantra*'s sleeping energy (*mantravīrya*) is awakened and becomes able to bestow its effectivity for the worshipper's spiritual progress or for other ends.

A mantric digest, then, tends to contain at least the following subjects in the mentioned order: 1. An account of the original development of the phonic

¹ PS 9, 20.

² See A. PADOUX, Contributions à l'étude du Mantraśāstra, I: La sélection des mantra (*mantroddhāra*), in BEFEO, 65, 1978, p. 65-85.

emanation of the divine; 2. general rules of how to deal with *mantra*; 3. initiatory ritual; 4. the rules of *puraścaraṇa*; 5. discussion of individual *mantras*, including their “extraction” (*uddhāra*), arranged according to the deities concerned. The oldest representants of this group of texts, the Prapañcasāra and the Śāradātilaka, are authoritative and intellectualistic statements of the doctrine and are held in high esteem in Tantric circles. Without any doubt they can be reckoned among the most important written sources of Tantrism; the fact that they have been treated in this book, not together with the “Original Tantras” but with “secondary literature” should not lead the reader astray as to their real importance. It is, moreover, impossible to make a sharp distinction between those works which specialize in Mantraśāstra and those which contain more general information on Tantric ritualistic and verbal tradition. In some cases, the teaching of *mantras*, although still forming the bulk of the contents, is embedded within descriptions of a multitude of other subjects. On the other hand, there is an enormous difference between continuous discourses of high originality and considerable literary value such as the PS and late compilations largely made up of strings of quotations.

The Prapañcasāra (or Prapañcasāratānta) “Essence of Evolution” without doubt deserves the first place in this group³. It is the only anonymous digest of Mantraśāstra and this circumstance must have led to its ascription to the great Vedānta philosopher and organizer Śaṅkara who lived, according to tradition, from 788 to 820, but perhaps a century earlier and certainly longer⁴. Although it is very improbable that the philosopher Śaṅkara should be credited with the authorship of a work like the PS, it is plausible that this outstanding and probably highly original description of Mantraśāstra was written at an early date by a member of one of the monastic communities founded by him. Nor can the commentary Vivaraṇa, which in some Mss. is ascribed to Padmapāda, in reality go back to that famous early scion of the Advaita Vedānta. Farquhar⁵ estimated that the PS was composed somewhere about the tenth century. In the absence of further evidence, it seems wise to follow V. V. Dwi-veda’s opinion⁶ that the work was written in any case before the latter part of the eleventh century because some stanzas have been quoted in the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati; this would also fit in with our assumption that the PS

³ The best known edition is that by TĀRĀNĀTHA VIDYĀRĀTNA, Calcutta and London 1914 (Tantrik Texts, 3); the Intro. by ARTHUR AVALON (66 p.) contains a detailed but unbalanced survey of the contents. The comm. by “Padmapāda” was edited with the text as Vol. 18–19 of the Tantrik Texts in 1935 (ed. AṬALĀNANDA SARASVATĪ). Another ed. appeared as Vol. 19–20 of “The Works of Śaṅkarācārya”, Śrī Vāṇivilāsa Press, Srirangam 1913.—For the Mss., cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 398f.; RASB Cat., p. 338; Nepal Cat., I, p. LXVI, 117f.

⁴ The traditional ascription to ŚAṆKARA can be found i.a. in A. B. GHOSH’s contribution to the CHI, Vol. IV, 1956, p. 245. On Śaṅkara’s date, now see T. VETER, Studien zur Lehre und Entwicklung Śaṅkaras, Wien 1979, p. 11f.

⁵ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 266.

⁶ V. V. DWIVEDA, Intro. to the NSA, p. 41.

is older than the Śāradātīlaka. That the title of the PS (like that of the ŚT) does not occur in ancient lists of Tantras⁷ may be due to the fact that it did not in shape and contents agree with the usual type of "Original Tantra", or that it originated in a completely different milieu. The size of the work is considerable: according to the catalogues, it varies in most Mss. from 3100 to 3600 stanzas, for the greater part written in Kāvya metres. Vidyāratna's edition contains 36 chapters and 2454 stanzas. The higher estimate in the catalogues may be due to additional space taken up by commentaries. The many quotations in various Tantric digests and commentaries attest to the popularity of the PS. This popularity, as well as the extreme difficulty of the work, led to an intensive commentarial activity⁸. The most important commentaries are: a. The Vivaraṇa by Jñānasvarūpa. In one Ms. it is attributed to Padmapāda; b. a Vivaraṇa attributed to Padmapāda; there are still other commentaries of the same title; c. the Sambandhadīpikā by Uttamabodha, a pupil of Uttamaprakāśa⁹; d. a Tīkā by Jagadguru; there is at least one other *tīkā*; e. from South India, the Tattvapradīpikā by Nāgasvāmin; and f. a Vyākhyā of unknown authorship called Vijñānodyotini. There is a Prapañcasārasaṃgraha by Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī which, notwithstanding its title, is a much larger text than the PS itself¹⁰.

The Prapañcasāra occupies a unique position in the older Tantric literature. It is not only a detailed source of information on *mantra* lore, but also a deliberate and accomplished piece of literary art. It is a convincing case of the acceptance of Tantric methods and speculations in circles of learned Brahmans proficient in the classical style of Sanskrit. The discourse proceeds in a basic component of *anuṣṭubh* stanzas interrupted by charming alternations of *kāvya* metres such as Āryā, Śārdūlavikrīḍitā or Vasantatīlaka. Chapter XI, st. 48–67, contains a *stotra* of Prakṛti in Bhujaṅgaprayāta¹¹. In some "experimental" passages of the text, these metres tend to follow each other in quick succession. The author abundantly proves his mastery over Sanskrit language and style, but now and then we are under the impression that he had some difficulty in expressing his intentions clearly and without ambiguity; but perhaps this should be put on the account of the technicality and esoteric character of the subject.

A survey of the contents: as one might expect in a digest, there is a benedictory (*maṅgala*-) stanza at the beginning which contains an invocation of Bhārati, the

⁷ The PS occurs as No. 26 of the Rathakrāntā division in the recent list of the Mahāsiddhasāra quoted by AVALON, Introd. to Tantrābhidhāna, 1913, p. II f., and by KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 22 f.

⁸ On the commentaries, see CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 65; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 399 f.

⁹ According to the NCC, II, p. 54, this comm. is the work of ĀTMABODHA YATI.

¹⁰ Ed. at Varanasi V.S. 1935 = A.D. 1878 (IOL-SB, III, p. 1946). For the Mss., see RASB Cat., p. 339 f.; Jammu Cat., p. 232.

¹¹ Trsl. by AVALON in his Introd. to VIDYĀRATNA's ed. of the PS, on p. 29 f.

goddess of the mystical word and sound. The following introduction is still reminiscent of the Purāṇic or Āgamic sphere: Brahmā and the other gods approach Nārāyaṇa for information on some basic problems concerning the origin of the world and the nature of existence. Nārāyaṇa answers at first with a discourse on creation which strongly reminds us of the traditional Sāṃkhya teaching: there are two basic principles, Puruṣa and Prakṛti; there are 25 categories (*tattvas*), and so on. But Prakṛti is to be identified with the primeval Śakti who is incarnate in women (1, 22f.). The evolution of Prakṛti out of a primal intensely concentrated globular form (*bindu*) into the principle of sound (*nāda*) and her gradual “condensation” which leads to the coarser forms of existence are expounded in the rest of the chapter. The latter subject is treated with more detail in ch. 2 in the form of “religious embryology”. The mystical science of speech is then dwelt upon (ch. 3): the three kinds of sound in the alphabet represent the fundamental trinity of Soma (vowels), Sūrya (occlusives and nasals) and Agni (semi-vowels and sibilants). The fifty constituents of the alphabet are presided over by manifestations of Rudra and Viṣṇu and correspond to fifty kinds of herbs. The Kuṇḍalinī and her *mantra hrīm*, her bisexual nature and her cosmic representation are the main subjects of the fourth chapter with which the speculative part of the text ends. Attention is then directed to the initiation (*dīkṣā*) into Mantraśāstra by a competent guru (chs. 5 and 6; ch. 6 includes a description of *homa*). From ch. 7 onwards we find descriptions of *mantras* of deities and their application, beginning with Bhārati (= Sarasvatī) in 7 and 8 (description of Prāṇāgnihotra at the beginning of 8). Śrī is adored in her manifestations as Tripurā (9, a short discussion of the Śrīvidyā, but not the Śricakra, in vs. 11f.), Mūlaprakṛti or Bhuvaneśvarī (10, 11, 15) and Lakṣmī (12); Durgā and other goddesses (i.e., Tvaritā) are the subject in 13, 14, and 32. The most important other gods whose *mantras* find a place in the text are Agni (16), Gaṇeśa (17), Kāma and Kṛṣṇa (18), Viṣṇu (20–25; 36), Śiva (26–28) and the metres Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh and Anuṣṭubh (29–31). Other subjects are: Yoga (19; an interesting description); *yantras* (32); guru worship and ethical rules (33); a few *mantras* such as the Praṇava (19, beginning), the Lavaṇamantra (34) and the Prāṇapratīṣṭhāmantra (35). The chapters 34–36 have perhaps been added later; the subject-matter seems additional and they have no parallel in the ŚT, while ch. 33 winds up with a concluding remark: “thus in this Tantra, the Prapañca . . . has been declared”¹².

The above list of subjects proves the eclectic character of the text. The author, although decidedly a representant of the Śakti-oriented school of Indian speculation, has set himself the task of describing mantric methods applying to all important members of the Hindu pantheon. Important Śākta deities such as Kālī and Tārā are, however, conspicuous by their absence.

A few passages from the PS are translated here in order to elucidate the author’s method of presentation; on the cosmic role of sun, moon and fire (1, 58):

“The [thirty] gods, the [three] Vedas, the [three kinds of] sounds, with the [three] winds, the [three] worlds together with the [three Vedic] fires; the [three] times, accompanied by the threefold grading of society, combined with the [three] Śak-

¹² In the 1935 edition of the text with “Padmapāda”’s commentary the sequence of chapters at the end of the work was rearranged: chs. 31–34 became 33, 34, 36 and 32; ch. 36 became 23. The Srirangam ed. in 33 chs. contains almost the same material as the 1915 ed. in the Tantrik Texts series, but omits the subject-matter of ch. 36 (AVALON, Introd. to the 1935 ed., p. 67).

tis; and also the three metres [Gāyatrī, Triṣṭubh, Anuṣṭubh]; the [three] arteries [Īlā, Pīṅgalā, Suṣūmnā] and anything else which is characterized by the number three in the threefold world, all that is constantly kept together for the welfare of all by the Sun, the Moon and Universal Fire”.

On the terrible fate of the soul on entering into existence as a human being (2,41f.):

“Oh Thou Who art born from the Lotus, Oh, decidedly strange is the course of retribution of the deeds of human beings;

therein the evildoers who are relegated to a body suffer great pain in order to become able to leave the womb;

Oh Thou Who art born from the Lotus, Oh, decidedly strange is the course of retribution of the deeds of human beings!

One is born in a state of still greater perturbation; one opens the mouth and trembles all over one's body; one sighs deeply and feverishly; one cries with fear . . .”

Nowhere is the author more intent upon displaying his powers of eloquence than when dealing with the results of the application of *mantras* advocated by him. Thus, in 8,25:

“Therefore, this famous string of letters, which attaches itself to the world, with devotion assign to thy body, mutter with soft voice, sacrifice and worship,

in order to obtain incomparable poetical power, longevity, fame, loveliness and fortune; for the sake of the destruction of all calamities and sorrows, and for release from existence”.

and, in 8,36:

“A sacrifice of shoots of the *palāśa* and *bilva* and with fuel from the wood of the same trees for ten thousand times is a cause of delightful poetical inspiration; it will bestow prosperity and fortune and for a long period create the gift of charming other people”;

“one becomes a poet, a man of insight” (8,33);

“by one's poetical works one will pervade the whole earth” (9,21);

“one will soon become an abode of Sarasvatī” (9,29);

“from his mouth . . . the Lady of Speech will come forth with delight” (9,44).

It will scarcely be necessary to emphasize that a translation cannot reproduce the eloquent fluency of the Sanskrit original.

The second basic mantric digest, the *Śāradātīlaka* “Forehead-ornament of Sarasvatī” (ŚT)¹³ written by Lakṣmaṇadeśika or Lakṣmaṇa Deśikendra, displays such a far-reaching agreement with the *Prapañcasāra* in choice and ar-

¹³ The most useful and most recent ed. is that by MUKUNDA JHĀ BAKSHI, with RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA's comm., Varanasi 1963 (KSS, vol. 107), in 25 chs. and 3489 stanzas. Of older eds., we mention those by A. AVALON, Calcutta 1933 (2 vols.) and that from the Gaṇeśa Prabhākara Press, Varanasi V. S. 1944 (1887 A. D.), with the comm. by MĀDHAVA. The ŚT has also been included in the *Vividhatantrasaṃgraha* edited by R. M. CHATTERJI, 1877-84. Cf. also RASB Cat., p. 340f.—For the Mss., one should consult, besides the relevant entry in KAVIRAJ's TSāh, p. 625f., also the Orissa Cat., Nos. 97-99, the RASB Cat., l. c., and the Bikaner Cat., Nos. 1324-26.—The article by A. H. EWING, The *Śāradātīlaka*-Tantra, in JAOS 23, 1902, p. 65-76, suffers from prejudice.

rangement of its subject-matter that the conclusion that the one is little more than a liberal adaptation of the other is unavoidable. It seems probable that the ŚT is secondary to the PS¹⁴. This is not to detract from the literary merits of the work: although almost completely written in simple *anuṣṭubhs*, it displays a thorough mastery of Sanskrit style happily combined with a clarity of presentation seldom reached in the PS. The author was a Śaiva religious leader of the Vārendra clan reported to have been a pupil of Utpala, the famous theoretician of the Kashmir Śaiva school¹⁵. The commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa gives his genealogy up to the third degree (great-grandfather: Mahābala). Lakṣmaṇadeśika is commonly placed, however, in the eleventh century¹⁶.

The popularity of the ŚT, especially of the first chapters which deal with cosmogony, the evolution of speech and initiation, is probably still greater than that of the PS. This is without doubt largely due to the simpler and more methodical presentation of the subject-matter. There are at least ten commentaries. The most famous is the Padārthādarśa by Rāghavabhaṭṭa, a South Indian scholar who came to live in Varanasi and wrote his commentary in A. D. 1494.¹⁷ He displays an intimate knowledge of the tradition and some didactic proficiency; he quotes many older authorities¹⁸. These virtues render his commentary precious; it is rightly held in high esteem by later generations of Tantric scholars. Another commentary on the ŚT, the Śabdārthacintāmaṇi, was written by Premanidhi Pant in 1658 Śaka (A.D. 1736); the voluminous but incomplete Harṣakaumudī by the South Indian Śrīharṣa Dikṣita was utilized i. a. by Bhāskaraṛāya. Two commentaries bear the title Gūdhārthadīpikā: one by Trivikramajña and one by Mādhava. The Mantrayantraprakāśikā is assigned to Śīrapāṇi¹⁹.

In general, we can characterize the ŚT as a re-presentation, and sometimes a rearrangement, in simpler form of the subject-matter of the PS; the text

¹⁴ There are a number of small indications for this. One could point to the anonymity of the PS; the discussion in ŚT 1, 12f. on the meaning of Śabdabrahman which is lacking in the PS and which interrupts the argumentation; omission of some technical passages such as PS 3, 58f. (on linguistic rules) replaced by Mantravāda rules, or PS 7, 36f. (on *aṅgas* of the *prapañcayāga*); the ŚT, however, gives more particulars on the ritual of initiation and *homa* (chs. 4 and 5); addition of references to elements of doctrine which are omitted or only vaguely referred to in the PS, for instance ŚT 25, 10f. versus PS 19, 18; also other features in ŚT 25 versus PS 19.

¹⁵ CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 65; PADOUX, Recherches, p. 60, n. 6.

¹⁶ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 267; GONDA, Rel. Indiens, II, p. 28, n. 9. But PADOUX, Recherches, p. 77, n. 3, frankly admits: "on en ignore la date".

¹⁷ The date is based on the author's own information in the concluding stanzas of the Padārthādarśa; cf. CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, l.c.—This RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA is the same as the commentator of that name on the Abhijñānaśākuntala and other classical Skt. texts, cf. P. K. GODE, Lit. Hist., vol. I, p. 429–436.

¹⁸ On the authorities quoted by RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA, see A. D. PUSALKER, Literary Background of RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA, author of Padārthādarśa ... and Arthadyotānikā . . ., in: ABORI, Vol. XLI, 1960, p. 29–48.

¹⁹ See further KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 627f.; NCC, IV, p. 132 (comm. by KĀŚINĀTHA).

obtains a certain degree of individuality by a constant use of synonyms and changes in the order and structure of sentences. The author has a keen eye for system (e.g., in 5, 116: *eṣā kriyāvati dikṣā*; such “intercalatory” remarks are usually lacking in the PS) and sometimes adds more details in the description of external ritual. The general scheme of the discussion of a *mantra* is the same in the ŚT and the PS. The *mantra* is announced, communicated more or less in codal form with its ṛṣi etc. and directions for assignment of its syllables to the body; then follow the *dhyānaśloka* which describes the figure of the corresponding deity for the purpose of meditation; enumeration of the surrounding deities (*āvaraṇadevatāḥ*); explication of the method of *puraścaraṇa*; statement of rewards in a bewildering variety of expression.

A short survey of the contents of the ŚT: cosmogony and embryology (ch. 1); evolution of cosmic sound and concise treatment of *mantravāda*, followed by the teacher-pupil relation (2); initiation (3–5; ch. 5 deals especially with *homa*); varieties of meditation on the alphabet and its deities (6 and 7); worship of (*mantras*) of Lakṣmī (8); of Bhuvaneśvarī (9); of Tvaritā and Annapūrnā (10); of Durgā (11); of Tripurabhairavī (12); of Gaṇeśa (13), Sūrya (14), Viṣṇu (15–17), Śiva (18–20), the Gāyatrī (21), magic weapons (22), Tryambaka and others (23); description of *yantras* (24) and of yoga (25).

The first lines of ch. 25 run as follows:

“Now I shall proclaim the yoga with its constituents which leads to illumination; those who are proficient in yoga say that yoga is the unity between the individual soul and the *ātman*; others are of the opinion that it is the realization of a non-dualism between individual soul and *ātman*; the specialists in the Āgama proclaim that it is the consciousness of Śiva and Śakti; still other experienced people say that it is the knowledge of the Primeval Person. Only after having first conquered one’s own enemies, viz. desire and so on, one should apply oneself to yoga . . .”

One instance of the ŚT’s remodelling of phrases from the PS may be added:

“That sonic principle (*rava*) is called Śabdabrahman by those who are competent in the sacred texts” (PS 1, 43cd):

“Those who are experienced in all the Āgamas call it Śabdabrahman” (ŚT 1, 12ab).

A textbook that as to its contents is rather similar to the PS and the ŚT is the Mantrapāda from (inserted in ?) the Īśānaśivagurudevapaddhati; we had occasion to refer to it above (p. 128). The Phetkārīṇitantra, although an original Tantra in name, is in reality a similar digest; it places special emphasis upon *mantras* and deities of magic (see above, p. 115f.).

After the period of the early digests, new *mantras* were revealed from time to time, and they came to be described together with the traditional ones in a continuous production of mantric monographs, often under the patronage and stimulus of lay aristocrats. Most of their titles can easily be found in Kaviraj’s Tāntrika Sāhitya, *sub verbo*. A few of them might be mentioned here.

The Mantramuktāvalī is without doubt one of the oldest within this group; it dates in any case from before A.D. 1423–24²⁰. Its treatment is based upon

²⁰ Date of the Ms. RASB 6239 (V.S. 1480).

that of the PS; its author, the Paramahansa Pūrṇaparakāśa, belonged to the Śāṅkara tradition. The size of the work amounts to about 5000 *ślokas* arranged in 25 chapters²¹. It is quoted several times in well-known digests and commentaries, i. a. in Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Padārthādarśa. There is another, anonymous, Mantramuktāvalī of about 1260 *ślokas*; its fifth chapter is devoted to Mañjuśrī²². Perhaps the most famous of the younger mantric digests is the Mantramahodadhi written by Mahīdhara (cf. vs. 25, 122) and provided by the same author with a commentary called Naukā. The date of its composition is V.S. 1645 (A.D. 1588-89) and it is well-known among Śaivas and Śāktas all over North India²³. The text, orderly arranged, consists of 3800 *ślokas* and 25 chapters. Besides the Naukā, there are the commentaries Padārthādarśa by Kāśinātha and Mantravallī by Gaṅgādhara.

The contents of the Mantramahodadhi are: a general scheme of the performer's preparation (ch. 1); Gaṇeśa (2); Kālī and Tārā (3-6); Yakṣiṇīs (7); Bāla-Tripurā (8); Annapūrṇā and other goddesses (9f); Tripurasundarī and her attendants (11f.); Hanūmant (13); Viṣṇu (14); Planets (15); Śiva Mrtyumjaya, Kubera, Gaṅgā (16); Kārtavīrya Arjuna (17); Kālarātrī and other fearsome goddesses (18); some other *mantras* (19); *yantras* (20); the pattern of daily worship (21f.); Kāma a.o. (23); generalities of Mantravāda (24); the Six Acts (25).

Viṣṇudeva's Mantradevaprakāśikā²⁴ is said to comprise more than 4000 *ślokas* (some Mss. give a smaller number) arranged in 32 chapters. It deals with generalities of *mantravāda*, initiation and other preparatory rites, and a multitude of individual *mantras*. There seem to exist a larger and a smaller version.

The Mantrakamalākara (in c. 3780 *ślokas*) is a good instance of the simpler kind of digest. It was written by Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, but the portion on Rāma worship²⁵ was contributed by his father Rāmakṛṣṇa. Like many other digests of the later period, it has the character of a compilation. It has no literary pretensions, nor does it claim any originality. Immediately after the single introductory stanza, it opens with the first quotation (from the ŚT); the invocation is a simple "having bowed down to Lord Rāma and my father . . .". There is no chapter on the origins of speech or the general rules of Mantravāda. After a first chapter on initiation, the individual *mantras* and their worship are

²¹ Cf. CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in RASB Cat., p. XXVI; 421f.; the Ms. described in the IOL Cat., IV, p. 887 (No. 2582) is different.

²² RASB Cat., p. 451f.—These two Mantramuktāvalīs should not be confounded with the modern compilation of that name discussed by BHARATI, Tantric Tradition, p. 142f.; see also IOL-SB, III, p. 2093.

²³ Ed. R. M. CHATTOPADHYAYA in his Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1877-84; by J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1892; from the Venkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay A.D. 1910 (re-ed. 1962). For still older eds., see IOL-SB, III, p. 1575. There is a host of Mss. from the whole of India. For more information about the author who came from Ahicchatra and lived at Varanasi, see P. K. GODE, in Lit. Hist., II, p. 107-121. MAHĪDHARA was assisted by his son KALYĀṆA and other Brahmans (o.c., p. 114).

²⁴ RASB No. 6234; R. MITRA, Notices, No. 2815.—There are Mss. in all corners of India.

²⁵ Fol 36-53 in the unique Ms.: RASB No. 6238.

treated in due succession: Sūrya, Gaṇeśa, Rāma, Hanūmant, Mahālakṣmī, Kālī, Kārtavīrya (this heroic god of magical protection obtains much space) and several other protective *mantras*. In fact, the text can almost be characterized as a private collection of *mantra* lore probably meant for a restricted circle of people (presumably a family) whose chief object of worship was Rāma.

Yadunātha Cakravartin describes himself as a Bengali and son of Vidyābhūṣaṇa Bhaṭṭācārya. His *Mantraratnākara*²⁶ of about a thousand *śloka*s arranged in groups of ten *varaṅga*s describes Mantraśāstra by means of a great number of quotations. After generalities of *mantra* science and initiation, the *mantras* of Gaṇeśa, Dhūmāvātī, Bhairavī, Tripurā, Kālī and Tārā follow in due order. Some space is allotted to descriptions of the three mental dispositions (*bhāva*) and Kulācāra (in *varaṅga* IX), and to the Six Acts (X). Yaśodhara wrote his *Mantrārādhanaḍipikā*²⁷ in 1488 Śāka (A. D. 1566). A *Mantracandrikā* in 12 *ullāsa*s was compiled by Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa of Varanasi, a very productive writer of usually short treatises on all aspects of Tantric tradition who belonged to the seventeenth or eighteenth century. He was a convinced adherent of the reformist Dakṣiṇācāra and engaged in lively polemics against the left wing of Kulism²⁸.

There are two texts called *Mantraratnāvalī*: one by Vidyādhara Śarman²⁹ and one, in 26 *varaṅga*s, by Bhāskaramiśra on the instigation of Kīrtisimha³⁰. A short *Mantrapārāyaṇakrama*³¹ is a practical guide to special methods of recitation.

Digests of Mantraśāstra continued being written up to recent times. The *Mantrakalpadruma* (or *Rājakalpadruma*) was compiled by (or assigned to) Rājendra Vikrama Śāha, king of Nepal from 1816 to 1847³². In 14 chapters and about 1200 *śloka*s it presents information on Dikṣā and Puraścaraṇa, standard rules of worship, and *mantras* of Viṣṇu, Śiva and other gods. Special attention is given to a *mantra* of Dhanurveda (archery) in chapter XII. Another royal author, Viśvanātha Siṃha, Mahārāja of Rewa in the nineteenth century, wrote the (Rāma) *Mantrārthanirṇaya* with a view to demonstrating the superiority of the *mantras* of Rāma³³. The *Mantramahārṇava*, a modern compilation

²⁶ RASB Cat., p. 347f.—KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 473, distinguishes three texts of the same title; besides, there is a modern compilation of this title written by D. ARUṆA-CALĀŚĀSTRĪ and printed in Telugu characters, Madras 1908 (IOL-SB, III, p. 1577).

²⁷ RASB Cat., p. 416; IOL Cat., No. 1581. On the author: RASB Cat., p. XLIV.

²⁸ On this author and his works, cf. CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 75; the same, in RASB Cat., p. XXXIV. On his *Mantracandrikā*, see NCC, IV, p. 131; RASB Cat., p. 424f.—There are other authors of this name, cf. NCC, IV, p. 132, 134.

²⁹ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 474, referring to H. P. SASTRI, *Notices*, I, 272.

³⁰ IOL Cat., No. 2580 (IV, p. 886f.).

³¹ RASB Cat., p. 454.

³² Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXf., 242f. The text has historical importance because a detailed genealogy of the royal family is given in the introductory part.

³³ RASB Cat., p. 647f.; CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 76; and especially P. K. GODE, *Lit. Hist.*, II, p. 242–258.

by Mādhava Rāya Vaidya, enjoyed popularity especially in the West of India³⁴.

A special position is taken by Kṛṣṇānanda's Tantrasāra³⁵ (about 5000 *ślokas*), because this important and (at least in Bengal) extremely popular compilation stands midway between a mantric digest and a ritual *nibandha*³⁶. Its greater part consists of a systematically arranged survey of *mantras* and worship of various deities, but at the beginning and the end there is a mass of information on several subjects treated only concisely in older sources. The author, who bore the title Āgamavāgiśa, was a Varendra Brahman who lived at Navadvīpa (Nadia), at his time a great centre of Brahmanical learning. He is recorded to have been a contemporary of Caitanya; this would put the date of his productivity between A.D. 1460–1540. But there are arguments which render a later date for the composition of the Tantrasāra at least plausible, for instance the fact that it quotes the Śrītattvacintāmaṇi by Pūrṇānanda, a work written in A.D. 1577. Kṛṣṇānanda therefore probably wrote in the seventeenth century³⁷. He is also the author of the Ṣaṭkarmadīpikā and other treatises. The chief merit of the Tantrasāra is its presentation of a well-arranged mass of material produced by others on Tantric tradition and worship. There is scarcely a trace of originality. The bulk of the work is occupied by a multitude of quotations³⁸. The subjects touched are: initiation and mantric lore (*pariccheda* I; p. 1–75 in P.K. Śāstrī's edition), general rules of worship (beginning of II; p.

³⁴ Ed. from the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay V.S. 1964 (A.D. 1907), in two vols., repeatedly reprinted. See BHARATI, *Tantric Tradition*, p. 123f., where a survey of contents can also be found.

³⁵ There are several texts of this title. The oldest one extant is the Tantrasāra by ABHINAVAGUPTA in 772 *ślokas* (ed. M.R. ŚĀSTRĪ, Bombay 1908; KSTS 17). The second volume (Mantrapāda) of the ISP has Tantrasāra as an alternative title.

³⁶ Ed. by CANDRAKUMĀRA TARKĀLAṂKĀRA, B.S. 1285–92 (A.D. 1877–84), as vol. I (vol. II contains a collection of Tantras called Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, ed. by R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA); ed. PRASANNAKUMĀRA ŚĀSTRĪ, with a Bengali trsl., Calcutta B.S. 1303 = A.D. 1896, ³1908; ed. UPENDRANĀTHA MUKHOPĀDHYĀYA, with Bengali trsl., Calcutta B.S. 1304, ⁵1927 A.D.; ed. PAÑCĀNANA TARKARATNA, with Bengali trsl., Calcutta, Vaṅgavāsī Press, B.S. 1334 = A.D. 1927; ed. at Varanasi 1938 (CSS, No. 88). For some other old editions, see IOL-SB, IV, p. 2702f.—On the many Mss., see KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 245; RASB Cat., Nos. 6187–6191; Orissa Cat., Nos. 32–39.—Description of contents in S.C. BANERJĪ, *Tantra in Bengal*, Calcutta 1978, p. 78–87.

³⁷ SIRCAR, *Śākta Piṭhas*, p. 74f.; see also NCC, V, p. 13. The oldest Ms. seems to date from A.D. 1632.—KAVIRAJ (ed. of the YH, *Intro.*, p. X) believes that KṚṢṆĀNANDA was a contemporary and even a co-student of CAITANYA and the logician RAGHUNĀTHA ŚIROMAṆI.—The date given by FARQUHAR (A.D. 1812, RLI, p. 355) must be due to a misunderstanding. —P.K. GODE (Lit. Hist., II, p. 158) places KṚṢṆĀNANDA somewhere between A.D. 1500 and 1600 on the ground of a colophon of a Ms. of the Tantrasāra preserved in the U.S.A. (he refers to POLEMAN'S Census of Indic Mss. in the USA and Canada, New Haven 1938, p. 218) which bears the date Samvat 1586 (= A.D. 1530).

³⁸ A list of 73 titles of quoted texts occurs in Orissa Cat., p. 42f.

76–93); *mantras* and worship of individual deities (II and III; p. 94–378); the main order of deities is: Bhuvaneśvarī, Durgā, Gaṇeśa, Lakṣmī, Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Tripurā, Tārā, deities of exorcism and magic, other minor deities. The concluding section in nearly 200 pages contains miscellaneous subjects, i. a. *mantravāda*, *homa*, the Six Acts, a collection of *stotras* and *kavacas* with the same order of deities as above, *mudrās*, *yantras*, a succinct description of daily worship, various *siddhis*, Kulācāra, animal sacrifice (*yajana*), and yoga. The inception is simple and contains only a short invocation of Kṛṣṇa.

A digest of similar structure is the *Simhasiddhāntasindhu* by Śivānanda Gosvāmin³⁹, written in A. D. 1674 at the court of Devīsimha, the ruler of Bundelkhand (vs. 1, 36). This text is also introduced by a genealogy of the king as well as of the author who was a Gauḍa Brahman from Bengal. The complete work contains more than 10.000 *ślokas* and at least 33 *tarāṅgas*.

³⁹ Unedited as yet; cf. NCC, IV, p. 237; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 695f.; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 74f.

CHAPTER IX

RITUAL COMPILATIONS

By "ritual compilations" or "Nibandhas"¹ are here understood those secondary Tantric works of usually known authorship which present material, as a rule in the form of quotations from older authorities, on ritual ceremonies, in the first place the procedure of daily worship. They can be divided into three groups: those which try to present a general survey; those which concentrate on the worship of one particular deity or line of tradition, and those which treat of a special province of the ritual, for instance *puraścaraṇa*. The number of such works is very large indeed; although some have come to enjoy much more popularity than others, none of them could win authority over the whole of the subcontinent². It would seem that almost each court-pandit of Tantric denomination (or attending to a ruler of Tantric leanings) or each guru of more than local authority who wanted to pass on his collected wisdom in codified form could set himself to write a Nibandha of his own. The collections of quotations have their rationale, because one had to show one's knowledge of the authorities and one had to reproduce their words literally.

The motivations for taking up the compilation of a new ritual digest may vary considerably. The authors often express themselves on this point in their introductions. The original Āgamas may have been difficult to procure³; or the books which were available did not give enough details on special points⁴; or, just the reverse, one had the desire to present the subject-matter in a shorter and more surveyable form because earlier compilations were almost inaccessible through their mere size⁵. Kāśinātha Bhaṭṭa is the clearest exponent of this view which points to a tendency towards popularization and standardization. The pen may also have been taken up out of pure devotion to the deity whose worship is to be described (Vaṭukārcanasamgraha 1,5); or the author may have obtained a final impulse from his pupils⁶, or his motif may merely be the in-

¹ The term *nibandha* occurs e.g. in RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA's *Kālitattva*, 1, 3: *vicārya . . . nibandhān api bhūyaśaḥ*; besides *tantrāṇi*, *upaniṣad*, *stotra*.

² CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in RASB Cat., p. XI.—A relatively great number of books of this class comes from Bengal, but they are known over the whole of India.

³ RĀDHA, *Pratiṣṭhāsārasamgraha*; NAVAMĪSIMHA, *Tantracintāmaṇi*, 1, 5.

⁴ DEVENDRĀŚRAMA, *Puraścaraṇacandrikā*: *santy eva mantrasāstre bahavo nibandhās tathāpi suviśeṣaiḥ | sarvopāsanāsiddher hetutayā Candrikā jayati*. Quoted in RASB Cat., p. 676.

⁵ Thus says the Saubhāgyakalpalatikā.

⁶ SUNDARĀCĀRYA, in a concluding stanza of his *Lalitārcanacandrikā*.

struction of his own son⁷, but all authors will have been convinced that they acted for the benefit of others⁸. The Sanskrit of the Nibandha authors themselves is usually without blemish, their style in most cases simple and perspicuous.

The contents of a ritual Nibandha of general scope in most cases include: a description of the ideal guru and his relation to the ideal *śiṣya* (pupil, candidate for initiation); the ceremony of initiation with its ancillaries such as *homa* and worship of the site (*vāstuyāga*); the daily round of ritual beginning with the religious duties at sunrise and continuing through the acts of external and internal preparation for the daily worship of the chosen deity up to the description of that worship proper (*nityapūjā*) including fire-sacrifice and tribute to secondary deities; worship conducted on special occasions (*naimittikapūjā*) such as festive days or the threat of some calamity; special varieties of Tantric worship, e.g. virgin worship (*kumārīpūjā*), a communal ceremony (*cakrapūjā*) or the ritual handling of a corpse (*śavasādhana*)⁹; rules on the recitation of *mantras* and their "preparation" (*puraścaraṇa*); rules about the Six Acts of magic; (Kuṇḍalinī)yoga.

A common set-up of many Nibandhas is as follows: at the beginning, there is a benedictory stanza (*maṅgalācaraṇa*) which contains the invocation of one or more deities and of the guru; the author then mentions his name and facultatively some particulars of his descent. One instance of this may be presented (praise of the author's grandfather and father):

"Divākara ['Sun'] by name was born as another moon [shining] in the ocean of Bhāradvāja's clan, but he obtained fame on the surface of the earth; of him, a son Rāmabhaṭṭa was born, like a second moon [reflected] from the moon, who destroyed ignorance by his teachings to his pupils; equal to Brhaspati in learning, devoted to the worship of Rāma, an equal of Hari in heroism, but by his forbearance equal to [Hari's spouse,] the Earth" (Bālabhaṭṭa, Vaṭukārca-nasaṃgraha, 1, 5-7).

The author may also expatiate on the descent or family of his patron and of his guru¹⁰ whose praise should not be omitted; after that, he may give a more or less systematical survey of the contents of his work and the sources consulted¹¹. Incidentally, there may be a request for the reader's forbearance

⁷ KAMALĀKARA, in his Mantrakamalākara (see above, p. 137).

⁸ For instance, PRATĀPASIMHA in his Puraścāryaṇava says: *nānāgamān dṛṣṭvā sarvajanopakāraṇapuraścāryārṇavas tanyate* . . . (at the end) *lokānām upakāra-vi-dhītsayā* (quoted in the Nepal Cat., I, p. 206).

⁹ For such rituals, cf. the survey by S. GUPTA in: S. GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 161f.

¹⁰ In Tantrism, the guru is often no other than the father or another member of the family.

¹¹ For instance, a precise survey of contents is given by RĀGHAVABHAṬṬA (on whom see above, p. 135) in his Kālitattva; conscientious listing of sources in NAVAMISIMHA's Tantracintāmaṇi; a smaller list in the Kaulāvalinirṇaya. Some collections of quoted titles can be found in the catalogues, e.g. Orissa Cat., p. 28 (Kulasarvasva; 35 titles), 42f. (Tantrasāra; 73 titles), 69f. (Durgāyaṇanadīpikā; 89 titles), 133 (LAKṢEŚVARA's Jñānavallī; 101 titles). The Vidyārṇavatāntra, in reality a *nibandha*, quotes at least 88 sources.

(*kṣamārpaṇa*) towards the imperfections found in the work, as in the Saubhā-gyaratnākara:

“Just as the words of a young child, even if still imperfectly articulate, are a source of joy to his parents, thus [it should be with] these words of mine”¹².

One can easily imagine that by his introductory stanzas an author gave off his visiting-card as a Sanskrit scholar.

As has been stated, the description of the subject-matter is mainly done with the help of a great number of quotations, some of them very lengthy; the title of the source is not always given (“elsewhere”; “in another Tantra”). The author’s own contribution tends to consist of short passages of connecting prose which may contain the announcement of a following subject¹³; explanatory notes; practical paraphrases which render the matter accessible to the executor of the ritual. An illustration of this procedure is taken from Rāghava-bhaṭṭa’s *Kālitattva* (Ms. RASB No. 6307, ch. VIII, fol. 47b); the subject is the description of the antinomian ritual practised by adepts of “heroic” disposition:

“And also something else has been said in the same (Bhāvavacūdāmaṇi):

‘If a twice-born man is of the best *kula*, devoted to things of the *kula*, then the satisfaction of the *kula* should be engaged in this method’.

The term ‘of the best *kula*’ here means: ‘being endowed with the disposition of a *vīra*’, because this method should necessarily be followed by people of such disposition; for non-performance of it has been criticized in the tradition. This has been worded in the *Svatantratāntra*:

‘He who recites *mantras* of Goddess Dakṣiṇā [Kālī] without having drunk spirituous liquor, consumed flesh and approached a menstruating woman,—sorrow awaits him day after day’.

And in the *Kulasambhava* it has been said:

‘During the night, naked and with dishevelled hair . . . one should perform [a fire-ceremony] in order to gain the realization of all worldly objectives and desires’.

Here, one should meditate on the firepit as having the form of the *yoni*, [because] it has been said thus in another Tantra:

‘Having constructed the firepit in the form of a *yoni*, a *vitasti* in length and a *hasta* in width and depth, one should perform therein the ritual of installation of the fire with appropriate *mantras* . . .’

Therefore, one should perform a fire-sacrifice on the cremation ground”.

Other authors, for instance Pūrṇānanda in his *Śāktakrama*, compose their handbooks in *ślokas* and present an independent discourse. But the unsuspecting reader runs the risk of sliding imperceptibly into a lengthy quotation from, say,

¹² Quoted by H. P. SASTRI in *Nepal Cat.*, I, p. 269. See also *Pañcākṣarimuktāvali* 1, 13; UMĀNANDA’S *Nityotsava*, last page.

¹³ A special aspect of the ritual is often introduced by a short statement or by one or more quotations—if possible, from *śruti*—which prove its indispensability, or criticize its negligence (*nindāvāda*). Thus, KṚṢṆĀNANDA, *Tantrasāra* (ed. P. K. ŚĀSTRĪ, p. 7): “The first exposition, called Reflection on Initiation. This subject is described first because without it the recitation of *mantras* is corrupt (*duṣṭa*)”. See also KAN 9, 47f. (menace).

the Kulārṇavatantra without obtaining any warning. And if a quotation is announced by title, there is always the possibility that it cannot be traced in a printed edition or manuscript of the quoted text on account of the number of semi-independent versions and false ascriptions.

This may be sufficient for a general characterization of the Nibandha literature. We now succinctly mention a choice of the more important ritual compilations. One of the oldest preserved is the Kriyākālpataru by Śaktinātha surnamed Kalyānakara. The Kriyākāṇḍa from this work is preserved in Nepal¹⁴. The author, a Kaula who belonged to “the Āmnāya of Parameśānī”, at the beginning gives an account of the lineage of the teachers of his school which was founded by the legendary Śrīkaṇṭha(nātha). From the introductory stanzas quoted in the Nepal Catalogue we learn that he consulted the Kaulatantras and summarized the doctrine of the Āmnāya; he combined quotations from “sayings of Śiva” with pieces of independent discourse.

Much more famous became the Kaulāvalinirṇaya (KAN) by Jñānānandagiri Paramahansa¹⁵. Of the author nothing else is known. The work is assigned to the sixteenth century of the Christian era. There are at least two versions: the longer or standard version contains 22 or 21 *ullāsas* and about 3850 stanzas; the shorter one in 9 *ullāsas* comprises II, 50–XV, 118 of the longer one (Avalon’s ed.); one chapter in the former usually corresponds to two chapters in the longer version¹⁶. In Avalon’s edition, the first chapter is devoted to a survey of the Kaula tradition, its gurus and sacred texts¹⁷. The general pattern of daily worship is expounded in the chapters II–IX; there follow expositions of i. a. the conduct of a Kaula (X), the three dispositions (XI), ritual for obtaining mastery of mantras (XII f.), including rites of the cremation ground; virgin worship (XV); initiation of a female partner (XVI); Kuṇḍalinīyoga (XVII); the Six Acts (XIX); *siddhis* (XVIII and XX); the Avadhūta (XXI). Occasionally, the *śloka* pattern is interrupted by *kāvya* metres. From time to time, the author suddenly starts copying the Kulārṇavatantra¹⁸.

One passage is quoted below, the beginning of the discussion of the Śivābali ceremony (9, 46 f.; see also above, p. 79):

“Now I shall expound the excellent ceremony of tribute to the jackals (*śivābali*). He who does not offer this tribute to the jackal for obtaining Śivahood, this most

¹⁴ Nepal Cat., I, p. LX, 14 f.

¹⁵ Ed. R. M. CHATTOPADHYAYA in his Vividhatantrasamgraha, Calcutta 1877–84; ed. A. AVALON a.o., in the Tantrik Texts Series, vol. XIV, Calcutta 1928. See also the NCC, V, p. 114.

¹⁶ Comparative table of contents in RASB Cat., p. XIX.

¹⁷ Among the texts quoted are the RY, BY, VY, Kulodḍiśa, Phetkārī, Yoginī, Tantrarāja, YH, KT, Gāndharva, Toḍala, Kubjikā, Matsyasūkta, Nayottara and many more Tantras.

¹⁸ Thus, KAN 1, 23–31 = KT 1, 7–18; KAN 1, 43–51 = KT 1, 109 f.; KAN 9, 66 f. strongly resemble KT 5, 59 f.; KAN 9, 79 f. = KT 7, 42 f.; KAN 9, 126 f. resemble KT 9, 30 f.

evil person is unfit for the worship of the Goddess of the *kula*. He who does not worship the Goddess Śivā in the form of an animal on a lonely place—by her jackal howl everything will certainly get lost for him. The jackal, when howling on a lonely place, lays a curse on him and snatches away from him all the merit collected by rituals of worship and recitation”.

Brahmānanda Giri, a Bengali Tantric guru who has been assigned to the beginning of the sixteenth century, wrote his famous Śāktānandataranī in 18 *ullāsas* and about 2838 *ślokas*¹⁹; in it he discusses creation from Puruṣa and Prakṛti; initiation; daily ritual; recitation and mastery of *mantras*; *yantras*; *homa*, and other matters.

The Śāktakrama by Pūrṇānanda Giri (a pupil of Brahmānanda)²⁰ contains 1500–1700 *ślokas* in 7 *aṃśas* and was presumably written in A.D. 1571. The author, a Bengali member of a Śāṅkarite order who lived in the Mymensingh district, earned some fame as a religious teacher and writer; to his credit also stand the Śyāmārahasya, the Śrītattvacintāmaṇi, a commentary to the Śāra-dātilaka and other works²¹. It would seem that the Vaiṣṇava revival in the North-East of India in the sixteenth century also committed the Śākta theoreticians to greater activity, because this period witnessed a substantial increase in the number of Nibandhas as well as of original Tantras. The sources consulted for the Śāktakrama are communicated at the end of that work (7, 49f.), but the general pattern is that of an original discourse in *ślokas*. Among the subjects dealt with are daily worship (I), the three *bhāvas* (II), virgin worship (III), the use of hemp for bringing about a quiet, unperturbed state of mind (IV), the Kāmakalā (V) i.e. the triangular creative form of the Śakti, the ideal state of Nirvikalpa (VI), and the Six Acts (VII).

The Śrītattvacintāmaṇi by the same author is an extensive digest in 26 chapters on various aspects of Tantric ritual^{21a}. Its sixth chapter, the Ṣaṭcakra-nirūpaṇa on the six yogic centres in the body, earned special fame.

The Āgamakalpadrūma by Govinda the son of Jagannātha, written perhaps in 1424 Śaka (A.D. 1502) has been quoted many times, but the Mss. are rare²². It is said to be based on the PS. Better known is the Āgamakalpalatikā or Āgamakalpavallī by Yadunātha, complete in 25 chapters²³; it deals with the worship of various deities, especially the ten Mahāvidyās. A very extensive

¹⁹ Ed. in R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA's Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1877–80; ed. (with Bengali trsl.) PRASANNA KUMĀRA ŚĀSTRĪ, Calcutta B.S. 1317 (=1914 A.D.); re-ed. B.S. 1349; for other old eds., see IOL-SB, IV, p. 2257. Survey of contents in BANERJĪ, Tantra in Bengal, p. 87–90.

²⁰ RASB Cat. 6197–99; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 620, referring to R. MITRA, Notices, No. 2067.

²¹ SIRCAR, Śākta Piṭhas, p. 18; 75; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 67f.

^{21a} Ed. B.M. SĀMKHYATĪRTHA a.o., Calcutta (Tantrik Texts Ser.); on this text, see BANERJĪ, Tantra in Bengal, p. 91–101.

²² NCC, II, p. 12.

²³ NCC, II, p. 12; RASB Cat., p. 393f.

work from Bengal is Raghunātha Tarkavāgīśa's Āgamatattvavilāsa, composed (according to the colophon) in 1609 Śaka (A.D. 1687)²⁴. It contains about 14.400 *ślokas* (RASB) divided into five sections. No less than 156 consulted sources are enumerated at the beginning and extensively quoted. The text also furnishes one of the lists of "Original Tantras". This bulky digest was abridged afterwards (1725–26) by the author's son Rāmakṛṣṇa into the Āgamacandrikā²⁵ of 1500 stanzas.

Navamīsimha's Tantracintāmaṇi is again a very large compendium (about 15.000 *ślokas*) and a mine of information on older literature quoted; it is divided into 40 *prakāśas*²⁶. Among the doctrines taught in it are the identity of Kālī and Kṛṣṇa and of Tārā and Rāma (chapter I). The subject of Dīkṣā comprises the chapters III–XI; that of Pūjā (of Tārā and other goddesses) the chs. XV–XXVIII. The symbolism of speech is treated in the last chapter. The author was a minister of the Nepalese king Bhūpāleन्द्रa Malla who reigned at Kathmandu in A.D. 1687–1700²⁷. He admits in his Introduction (1,3) that several "wise men" contributed to his work. Another Tantracintāmaṇi had been written before in Orissa by Godāvara Mīśra who held an important position at the court of Gajapati Pratāparudradeva (A.D. 1497–1539)²⁸. The Tantraprakāśa by Govinda Sārvabhauma, defectively transmitted, contains about 8000 *ślokas*²⁹. Navamīsimha also produced the Kulamuktikallolīnī in about 9000 *ślokas* dealing with "Tantra worship in general, with special reference to Kālī"³⁰; other Śākta Nibandhas are the Kulasarvasva or Kulamata by Kaviśekhara³¹ and the Kaulīkārcanadīpikā by Jagadānanda which seems to have been written in about A.D. 1622³².

The Sarvollāsa (tantra) is a digest in 63 *ullāsas* and about 2250 *ślokas*, reputed to be the work of Sarvānandanātha of Mehar (Tripura district, E. of Bengal). He was a Siddha of great fame (sixteenth century) who is said to owe his genius

²⁴ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 389 (he incorrectly places the work in the late eighteenth cent.); RASB No. 6214, Cat. p. 382; NCC, II, p. 13; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 28f.—The author lived at Napāḍā in the neighbourhood of Navadvīpa in Bengal: CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 69.

²⁵ NCC, II, p. 12; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 28, referring to R. MITRA for the size of the work.—For another work of this title written or sponsored by KṚṢṆAMOHAṆA, a rich Kāyastha of Pūrvasthali in West Bengal, see CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 69; RASB, No. 6209; NCC, IV, p. 346.

²⁶ RASB Cat., p. 384–392, with list of subjects; NCC, VIII, p. 87f.

²⁷ REGMI, Medieval Nepal, II, p. 135f.

²⁸ Orissa Cat., p. XLVII, referring to K. N. MAHAPATRA, in Orissa Hist. Research Journal, III, p. 186–196; cf. GODE, Lit. Hist., I, p. 475.

²⁹ RASB No. 6207.

³⁰ NCC, IV, p. 239; RASB No. 6308.

³¹ NCC IV, p. 241 and 238; Orissa Cat., No. 22 (with a survey of contents). The work is said to have been written in 1602 Śaka = A.D. 1524; cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 144, referring to H. P. ŚĀSTRĪ.

³² RASB Cat., p. 597f. There are about 1500 *ślokas* in the work.

to an intervention by Devī during a *śavasādhana* ritual; his memory is still cherished at Mehar³³. This text also contains a list of 64 Tantras³⁴.

A recent but extensive compilation which soon obtained considerable fame is Rāmatoṣaṇa Vidyālaṃkāra's Prāṇatoṣaṇi or -toṣiṇī³⁵. The author was a Varendra Brahman of Bengal and a descendant in the seventh degree from the great Kṛṣṇānanda. He wrote at the instigation of the landholder Prāṇakṛṣṇa Viśvāsa (Biswas), a Zamindar of Khaḍḍaha near Calcutta. The work was completed in 1820 and printed in 1824³⁶. The text is divided into seven books (*kāṇḍa*) and these again into sections (*pariccheda*). *Kāṇḍa* I (Sargakāṇḍa) deals with creation and the subsequent history of the Tantric tradition, mysticism of the body and principles of Mantraśāstra; the second or Dharmakāṇḍa with *saṃskāras*, *guru-śiṣya* relationship and initiation; the Arthakāṇḍa (III) with Kulācāra, Kuṇḍalinīyoga, and daily worship; the Kāmyakāṇḍa (IV) with recitation and preparation of *mantras*, types of *sādhana* and *siddhis*, the Six Acts, and Durgotsava and other festivals; the Bhaktikāṇḍa (V) with the worship of deities (Gaṇeśa, Śiva, Viṣṇu, the Mahāvidyās, Kālī); the Jñānakāṇḍa (VI) with yoga and micro-macrocosmic symbolism; and the Nirguṇakāṇḍa (VII) with the Bhāvas and certain Kaula rituals, especially for the adepts in Virabhāva.

The Śāktapramoda by (?) Rāja Devānanda Siṃha of Muzaffarpur is a quite recent compilation, printed for the first time in A.D. 1890³⁷. In 17 "Tantras" it presents information on the worship of the ten Mahāvidyās, Śiva, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa and other deities.

A great number of Nibandhas are devoted to the rituals of worship and the corresponding formularies (*mantras*, *stotras*, *kavacas* etc.) of individual deities. Only a selection of what seem to be the most important ones will be mentioned.

Worship of Śiva is described in the Śivarahasya, a very extensive text in 25 or 29 *adhyāyas*; it contains many sidelights on Śaiva mythology and religious geography³⁸. Lakṣmīdhara (probably identical with the famous commentator on the Saundaryalaharī) wrote the Śaivakalpadruma³⁹ in 8 *kāṇḍas* and about

³³ The Sarvollāsa was edited by RĀSAMOHANA CAKRAVARTIN, Calcutta 1953. See also: KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 690, referring to R. MITRA, Notices, 1071; RASB No. 6204 (Ms. reported to have been in the possession of KṚṢṇĀNANDA, author of the Tantrasāra); A.B. GHOSH, in CHI, IV, 1956, p. 241.—On the author: CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in RASB Cat., p. XLI.

³⁴ RASB Cat., p. 368f.; DWIVEDA, Introd. to NSA, p. 23f.

³⁵ Both spellings of the title are found in editions and with other authors. The text was edited i.a. by KĀLĪPRASANNA VIDYĀRATNA, Calcutta 1887; by J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1898; from the Vasumatī Sāhitya Mandira, Calcutta B.S. 1375 = A.D. 1928; see also IOL-SB, III, p. 1944. All eds. are from Calcutta.

³⁶ CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 80; SIRCAR, Śākta Piṭhas, p. 77f.

³⁷ Ed. from the Śrīveṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, V.S. 1947 (A.D. 1890); 21893; reprint 1973.

³⁸ IOL Cat., IV, p. 893f. (No. 2593-94); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 634. The preserved part constitutes only Section (*aṃśa*) 7; it is held that there were originally 12 *aṃśas*.

³⁹ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 643; RASB Cat., p. 623f.

3300 *ślokas*. He starts with an account of creation; his first quotation is from the Mahābhārata. In his colophons he declares himself to be a worshipper of the Śiva at Ekāmra (Bhuvaneśvar, Orissa). He lived at the court of Pratāparudra Gajapati of Orissa (A. D. 1497–1539)⁴⁰.

The Śivārcanacandrikā by Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa, whose religious name was Vi-dyānandanātha⁴¹, deals, in 46 chapters, not only with the worship of Śiva but also with that of Gaṇeśa, Durgā, Viṣṇu and Sūrya – the “Smārta” series. The first fifteen *prakāśas* give a common pattern of worship. A grandson of the author, Janārdana, in a Mantracandrikā discussed the *mantras* mentioned in his grandfather’s digest⁴².

Bālabhaṭṭa’s Vaṭukārcanasamgraha (or Baṭu-) is an extensive compilation (9400 *ślokas* in 8 chapters) on the worship of the attendant deity Vaṭuka (Ba-ṭuka)⁴³. The author was a Brahman of the Bhāradvāja *gotra*⁴⁴; he is not identical with the well-known eighteenth century Smṛti author of the same name.

A Pañcākṣarīmuktāvalī by Siddheśvara⁴⁵, a discourse of limited size basically in prose (divided into 5 *śreṇis*), gives particulars on the worship of Śiva with as basic *mantra* that of five syllables, viz. *namaḥ Śivāya*. The title is (conventionally) explained as follows by the author (1, 13):

Having drawn them up with the nets of insight from the ocean of the Śiva-Āgama, the pearls of essential teachings have been strung together here like a garland; therefore, its title is ‘the Necklace of the Mantra of Five Syllables’.

The image of the ocean and the net is worked out repeatedly in these digests, e.g. in Saubhāgyaratnākara 1, 7f.

The author implores his readers’ clemency in 1, 13:

“If by negligence some fault creeps in at any place,
the connoisseurs will deign to forgive that;
for the righteous are desirous of virtue”.

The following Nibandhas specialize in the worship of individual goddesses. One of the most important works of the Kubjikā school is without doubt the Nityāhnikatilaka produced by Mukṭaka⁴⁶, the earliest systematization of the

⁴⁰ For more particulars, see CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 72f.; P.K. GODE, Lit. Hist., I, p. 475 (on PRATĀPARUDRA).

⁴¹ RASB No. 6231, where the Ms. is estimated at no less than 18.000 *ślokas*; the number of Mss. is substantial. On the author and his works, see CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 73. He was the grandfather of Śivānanda Gosvāmin, the author of the Simhasiddhāntasindhu.

⁴² NCC, VII, p. 151.

⁴³ RASB Cat., p. XXVIII, 627.—KAVIRAJ, TSāh, lists 45 titles beginning with Baṭuka-.

⁴⁴ See the introductory stanzas quoted in the Catalogue; also the Cat., p. XXIII f.

⁴⁵ RASB No. 6462.

⁴⁶ Cf. Nepal Cat., I, p. LXIV; RASB Cat., p. 591f. The data have been taken from the Ms. Nepal Natl. Archives No. 23/Pra. 238, dated N.S. 742 = A.D. 1622.—The author’s name is also given as MUṆJAKA, but the Ms. mentioned prefers MUKṬAKA.

ritual teaching of this sect preserved to us (the oldest Ms. available was copied in N.S. 317 = A.D. 1197). Its size is a little more than 1000 *ślokas*, but there are also prose passages; the Sanskrit is most peculiar. Perhaps its chief merit is the detailed exposition of the worship of twenty-eight deities in the sexagonal Śrīkramamaṇḍala, one of the most important original features of the school⁴⁷. This is preceded in the text by a discussion of the Kubjikā variety of the sixfold *nyāsa*. In the first part of the work we find i.a. the exposition of the (*mantras* of the) deities of the (32-syllabled) Samayāmantra of Kubjikā (fol. 7a etc.). Most interesting is the lengthy description of the legendary tradition of the school in the context of the *gurumaṇḍala* (fol. 16a etc.). From this section, a passage (fol. 17b) in which the first of the ancient *gurus* of the school, Śrīnātha alias Tūṣṇīśa alias Unmanīśanātha^{47a}, defeats the Buddhists:

“... on the instigation of Śambhunātha he went to the sphere of the Gandharvas. He was then questioned by some Buddhists [who lived there]: ‘Who are you and for what reason did you come here? What have you to do here?’ Then Śrīnātha said: ‘I am a creator and destroyer, perfect (*siddha*) and in the possession of the foremost divine qualification’. Then the *vandakas* laughed and said: ‘Show us a visible token. Are you able to create and destroy? Show Buddhist convents (*viḥārāṇi pradhāyaḥ,?*)’. Having heard thus, he within a moment caused 125,000 *viḥāras*, each of them comparable to Mt. Meru, to descend from the sky on the mere utterance of the sound *hūṃ*. And they, weeping . . . prostrated themselves on the earth like sticks and caused his foot to rest on their heads . . .”.

The converted Buddhists are then initiated into the Order and afterwards play an important role in the legendary history of the school as a group of nine Nāthas—a tradition which is evidently of historical interest.

The Siddhasantānasopānapaṅkti “Flight of Stairs of the Uninterrupted Series of Siddhas” by Yaśorāja describes itself as a *paddhati* or ritual guide of the Śrīmata which is to be identified with the Kubjikā school. At least two Mss. have been preserved in Nepal, one of them dated L.S. 184 = A.D. 1303⁴⁸. After discussing the tradition’s prehistory in chapter I, the author deals with the subjects of Dikṣā (II–VIII); a ritual called Bhāgyāvarohaṇa entailing yoga, *japa* and meditation on the Goddess (IX–XII), *mantras* of Vāgīśvarī (XIII), the attraction of Yoginīs (XIV), the sixfold wisdom (XV) and the “wisdom of sight” (XVIII). A Kubjikāsarvasva, which has been quoted in Dakṣiṇāmūrti’s Uddhārakośa⁴⁹, is otherwise unknown. There are other explanatory monographs such as the Saṃvartārthaprakāśa and the Saṃvartamaṇḍalasūtravyākhyā on the first stanza of the Kubjikāmatatantra and its corresponding *maṇḍala*. Besides, a series of practical guides (*paddhatis*) on the worship of Kubjikā has been preserved, although there is no evidence as yet that this worship is

⁴⁷ Ms., fol. 48a, etc.

^{47a} On this personage, see SCHOTERMAN, Remarks, p. 934.

⁴⁸ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXV, 67; II, p. 91. There are 18 *paṭalas* and about 700 *ślokas*.

⁴⁹ CSC Cat., No. 5.

still being conducted. One of these has been included by R. Mitra in his survey of Nepalese Buddhist Mss⁵⁰.

There exist several systematic descriptions of Tripurā worship in the Śrīvidyā/Śricakra method.⁵¹ The place of honour among them is easily held by the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, and this because of its great authority as well as its extraordinary structure⁵². It is set up as a ritual Sūtra, to wit a sequence of utterances in prose each of which denote a particular phase of the ritual. Its predecessors in the hoary past are the Vedic Sūtras; but its style is usually more prolix. Its first *sūtra*: *athāto dikṣām vyākhyāsyāmaḥ* “further, from now on we shall explain initiation” reminds us much more of the first of the Brahmasūtras: “further, from now on the investigation of Brahman”. But most of the following *sūtras* in the PKS do not aim at abridging and compressing to the smallest possible amount of words, but give a matter-of-fact description of what is to be done, said or meditated upon. In fact, the PKS—in any case when describing the ritual proper—might be characterized as a work in ordinary descriptive prose, divided into short pericopes. Incidentally, even *ślokas* are quoted (2,2). Although anonymous, the text can best be classified with the monographs because of its systematic set-up and its step-by-step description of the ritual. It does not occur in the old lists of Tantras and there are few references in the digests; it certainly cannot be much older than the sixteenth century of the Christian era (the oldest dated Ms. in the RASB is of 1675 A. D.). The traditional authorship of Paraśurāma is connected with the role played by that mythical personage in the Tripurārahasya which claims to be a versified paraphrase of the revelation obtained by him from Dattātreyā⁵³. Since then, he seems to have been known as an ancient adept of Tripurā worship and *mantras*.

The 335 *sūtras* of the PKS constitute ten collections (*khaṇḍas*). The first of them deals with initiation, but also contains some short *sūtras* of speculative content such as: “thirty-six categories constitute the all” (1,4) and “the goal of the existence of a human being is reflection on his Self” (1,6). The other sections treat of the worship of Gaṇeśa (II); of Śrī or Lalitā, i.e. Tripurā (III and IV) and her attendants (V); of Śyāmā, a transmutation of Kālī, who in the Tripurā system fulfils the function of “First Attendant” and “Supervisor of the Throne” (VI); of Vārāhī, Tripurā’s “Chief of Staff” (VII); of Parā, the goddess of the important

⁵⁰ R. MITRA, SBL, p. 191. The point was mentioned by J. A. SCHOTERMAN in a lecture held before the Dutch Oriental Society in 1976.—Ritual guides for Kubjikā worship are mentioned in Nepal Cat., II, p. 80; RASB Cat., p. 595f. Many more were filmed as part of the Nepal-German Manuscripts Preservation Project.

⁵¹ In the NCC, no less than 259 entries begin with Tripurā(sundari). Most of these refer to *stotras* or guides of worship. Besides, many titles begin with Lalitā- or Saubhāgya-.

⁵² Paraśurāmakalpasūtra, ed. (with RĀMEŚVARA’s commentary) A. MAHĀDEVA ŚĀSTRĪ, Baroda 1923 (GOS, vol. 22); 2nd ed., revised and augmented by S. Y. DAVE, 1950. On the Mss.: KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 361.

⁵³ A. M. SASTRI, Preface to the ed. of the PKS, 1923, p. Xf. The passage quoted there from the Māhātmyakhaṇḍa of the Tripurārahasya could not be traced in its printed edition. Cf. Trip. Rah., Māh.kh., 1,32–36.

bīja sauh, the “heart” of Lalitā’s chief *vidyā* (VIII); of fire sacrifice (IX); the last section provides information on *mantras* of other deities applied for particular purposes. These include the Rāsmimālā, a collection of twenty, partly Vedic, utterances of high potency. The “Appendices” (XI–XVIII) have been added afterwards; they contain a collection of additional *mantras*.

The commentary Saubhāgyodaya by Rāmeśvara (a South Indian Brahman of the Kāśyapagotra; his religious name was Aparājītānandanātha) is a recent work, completed in Śaka 1753 (A.D. 1831), but not without value because of the author’s independent views and his wide knowledge of the Tantras. In some cases he presents additional matter on subjects not touched by the PKS itself (authority of Tantric literature, beginning of chapter I; *puraścaraṇa*, end of chapter VII)⁵⁴.

An elaboration and further systematization of the subject-matter of the PKS is found in the Nityotsava⁵⁵ by Umānandanātha (religious name of Jagannātha, a Mahārāṣṭra Brahman of the Viśvāmitragotra). This learned eighteenth century adept of the Śrīvidyā (he wrote the Nityotsava in A.D. 1775) and pupil of Bhāskararāya is also known for a biography of his guru (the Bhāskaravilāsa) and for some Kāvya works. He enjoyed royal protection at the court of Tanjore. In the Nityotsava, he maintained the order of the chapters of the PKS, but he combined those on the worship of Lalitā, including *homa*, into one, so that the work consists of seven chapters called *ullāsas* and named after the seven grades of ecstasy described in the Kulārnavatantra. Although the Nityotsava has more or less the character of a *paddhati*, it deserves special mention here because of its great authority and popularity. Rāmeśvara who was a grand-pupil of the same Bhāskararāya in another line, often finds occasion to criticize Umānanda’s views.

Of the other monographs on the worship of Tripurā, the Lalitārcanacandrikā is a voluminous compendium in 25 chapters and 4725 *ślokas* written by Sundarācārya whose religious name was Saccidānandanātha⁵⁶. He resided at Jālandhara in the Kashmirian foothills and is also known as the guru of Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa, the author of i. a. the Śivārcanacandrikā. Saccidānanda composed his work “on the request of his pupils who were tormented by the round of existence”. The author of the Jñānadīpavimarśinī, Vidyānandanātha, may be identical with the above-mentioned Śrīnivāsa-bhaṭṭa because that author bore the same religious name. Only part of the text seems to have been handed down in two Mss., one from the extreme North and one from the South of the sub-continent⁵⁷. In this part, there are about 1700 *ślokas* in correct Sanskrit, grouped

⁵⁴ Three other comms. are mentioned in the NCC, III, p. 240f.

⁵⁵ Ed. A. MAHADEVYA SASTRI, Baroda 1923 (GOS, vol. 23); second ed. revised by SWAMI TRIVIKRAMA TIRTHA, 1931; 3rd ed. 1948.—On the author, cf. A. M. SASTRI, Preface to the second ed., also printed in the third ed., p. VII; NCC, II, p. 390.

⁵⁶ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXII, 248f.; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 572.

⁵⁷ Nepal Cat., II, p. 15; Trivandrum Cat., No. 912B. The Nepalese Ms. is dated 530 N.S. = A.D. 1410. The text is quoted by AMṚTĀNANDA in his Dīpikā on the YH.

into twenty-five *paddhatis* which in the usual order treat of the guru, daily worship of the Goddess, special forms of worship, *pavitṛārohaṇa* etc., but of initiation only in chapter XXIII.

Some of the Tripurā-nibandhas have titles beginning with Saubhāgya-“Bliss”, “Beatitude”. Amṛtānanda, the commentator on the Yoginīhṛdaya, is also the author of a Saubhāgyasubhagodaya⁵⁸ in six chapters, three of which (III–V) deal with the exposition of the Śricakra. Amṛtānanda(nātha), who seems to have been a Kashmirian and a pupil of Puṇyānandanātha, lived at the end of the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century⁵⁹. He is also credited with the authorship of some other works on Tripurā speculation and worship⁶⁰. Śrīnivāsa Bhaṭṭa, who was mentioned just above, also wrote a Saubhāgyaratnākara of more than 8000 *ślokas*⁶¹ and 36 *tarāṅgas*. The author refers to written as well as oral sources:

“Having studied all the Tantras, the Yāmalaś and others, and having ascertained the secret meaning of these from the guru’s mouth . . .” (1, 5).

After praising his guru, he in due order describes the ordinary and special worship, initiation, *puraścaraṇa*, yoga (*niyamādikam*) and rituals of magic. The Saubhāgyakalpadruma “Heavenly Tree of Beatitude” of perhaps about 4000 *ślokas* is ascribed to Mādhavānandanātha⁶²; it was summarized by his pupil Kṣemānandanātha under the title Saubhāgyakalpalatikā “Offshoot of the Heavenly Tree of Beatitude”⁶³. The Sundarimahodaya by Śaṅkarānandanātha, whose original name was Śambhubhaṭṭa, also deserves to be mentioned. According to one of the concluding stanzas, it is based on the Jñānārṇavatatantra⁶⁴.

The description of the worship of Kālī also proved to be a fertile source of literary activity⁶⁵. An important compendium is Rāghavabhaṭṭa’s Kālītattva-(rahasya) in twenty-one chapters (*tattvas*) and more than 2000 stanzas⁶⁶. The author is very probably identical with the commentator of the same name on

⁵⁸ Ed. V. V. DWIVEDA in his edition of the NSA, p. 306–321. Some of the Mss. refer to VIDYĀNANDANĀTHA as the author. The title is sometimes quoted as Saubhāgyasudhodaya, but cf. AMṚTĀNANDANĀTHA on YH 2, 17: *mayā saubhāgyasubhagodaye* . . . (long quotation).

⁵⁹ V. V. DWIVEDA, Skt. preface (Anuprāstāvika) to KAVIRAJ’s ed. of the YH, p. 5.

⁶⁰ NCC, I, p. 355f.

⁶¹ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXXVI, 269; Bikaner Cat., p. 610; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 714f.

⁶² RASB No. 6338; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 712f. Most Mss. are incomplete.

⁶³ RASB No. 6339; Cat., p. 508.

⁶⁴ IOL Cat., IV, p. 899f.; RASB Cat., p. 520f.

⁶⁵ The NCC records 122 titles under the name Kālī (IV, p. 72f.) and 108 under Kālīkā (IV, p. 46f.); most of them are *pūjāpaddhatis*, *stotras* or small fragments. Besides, there are treatises the titles of which begin with Dakṣiṇakālīkā, Mahākālī-etc.

⁶⁶ NCC, IV, 74; R. MITRA, in Bikaner Cat., p. 586f.; Nepal Cat., I, p. LIX, 161 (fragmentary Mss.); RASB Cat., p. 474f.

the Śāradātilaka⁶⁷; in any case, the commentary was written before the Kālī-tattva which quotes it. The main subjects are: daily worship (I–VI), *kaula* rituals (VII and VIII), *kāmya* ritual (X), *kulācāra* (XI), description of the *bhāvas* (XV) and virgin worship (XVI). There is a gloss on this text ascribed to Mathurānātha.

The Śyāmārahasya which treats of Kālī worship in twenty-two *paricchedas* has already gone through several editions⁶⁸. It stands to the credit of Pūrṇānanda Giri, the celebrated author of i. a. the Śāktakrama and the Kāmaka-lāvilāsa. It is partly modelled on the Tārārahasya by the author's guru Brahmānanda, but with more elaboration.

On the worship of Tārā⁶⁹, we have the Tārāpradīpa, sometimes wrongly ascribed to Lakṣmaṇadeśika⁷⁰; its real author was probably called Yādava. It contains about 1260 *ślokas* in five or six chapters; it quotes i. a. the Phetkārīṇī and Yoginī Tantras and the Matsyasūkta. The first chapter mainly describes initiation; the second, worship; the third, Tārā's "intermediate" manifestations; the fourth, rites of magic; the fifth, the mastery of *mantras*.

The Tārārahasya⁷¹ in four *paricchedas* or *paṭalas* was written by the well-known Brahmānanda. It was, however, somewhat overshadowed in popularity by the Tārārahasya(vṛttikā) written by Śāṅkara Āgamācārya of Bengal. This latter text is handed down in at least twenty-five Mss., one of which is dated La. S. 511 = A. D. 1630⁷². The first of the fifteen chapters describes daily worship; the second, initiation, etc.; the sixth is devoted to Mahācinakrama "the Tibetan method", a code of ritual behaviour peculiar to Tārā worship. The number of *ślokas* has been estimated at 2500 (Stein).

Probably the most voluminous and perhaps the best known treatise on Tārā

⁶⁷ CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in RASB Cat., p. XXVII.

⁶⁸ Ed. in R. M. CHATTOPADHYAYA's Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1877–84; at Calcutta (publ. P. CH. PAL), V. S. 1948 = A. D. 1891–92; ed. J. VIDYASAGAR (in 15 *paricchedas*), Calcutta 1896.—For the Mss.: KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 648; Orissa Cat., Nos. 111–116; IOL Cat., IV, p. 898 (also description of contents; quotations). The commentary by BHARATI, Tantric Tradition, p. 332, is unreliable and contradictory to what he wrote on p. 326.

⁶⁹ In the NCC, Vol. VIII, 197 titles begin with Tārā.

⁷⁰ Cf. CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in CHI, IV, p. 411; Bikaner Cat., No. 1352. It may be remarked that a chapter on Tārā worship is lacking in LAKṢMAṆADEŚIKA's Śāradātilaka (cf. CH. CHAKRAVARTI, in RASB Cat., p. XXVII). The number of Mss. of the Tārāpradīpa is limited (7 in NCC, VIII, p. 156).

⁷¹ Ed. in the Vividhatantrasaṃgraha, Calcutta 1877–84; ed. J. VIDYASAGAR, Calcutta 1896; by P. K. SASTRI, 1313 B. S. = A. D. 1906; publ. by P. C. PAL, Calcutta 1948 V. S. = A. D. 1891–92; ed. HARIŚAṆKAR ŚĀSTRĪ, Moradabad 1926. It is not clear whether or not all these editions are of BRAHMĀNANDA's work.—The number of Mss. is limited.

⁷² NCC, VIII, p. 158; ed. by the Varendra Research Soc., Rajshahi 1961. Cf. also Orissa Cat., No. 46f.; CSC Cat., V, p. 29 (Tārārahasyavivṛti). On the author, see CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 68f.; NCC, IV, p. 239.

worship is the Tārābhaktisudhārṇava⁷³ by Narasiṃha, a Ṭhakkura (landholder) of Mithilā who is said to have flourished in the second part of the seventeenth century⁷⁴. The number of chapters varies from eleven to twenty-two. In the printed edition, the first chapter contains the well-known tale of the origin of the goddess under the name Nīlasarasvatī and some information on *mantras*. The chapters II and III describe *dikṣā*; then follow meditation on the guru, and the three *bhāvas* (IV); daily rites (V); Makāra rites (VI); special rituals including virgin worship and tribute to the jackals (VII); *puraścaraṇa* and concomitant rites such as the worship of eight female representants of the Śakti in the *sādhaka*'s house (VIII); varieties of *puraścaraṇa* to be performed by the *vira* (IX); *kāmya* ritual (X, XI). It would be a misunderstanding to suppose that the Tārābhaktisudhārṇava and other such extensive manuals confine themselves to the worship of the deity whose name is represented in the title. They may contain important material of general scope and applicability.

The author knows how to write Sanskrit; a good ambiguous stanza is found right at the beginning in his invocation of Tripurā (1,2):

"I worship Lalitā, that wonderful divine creeper (*kalpalatā*)
Who stands on the top of the King of Mountains⁷⁵;
Whose flowers are resplendent in the guise of smiles,
Whose bounteous fruits are her breasts,
Who is bedecked with splendid strings of intoxicated bees disguising themselves
as dancing locks;
wound round the trunk [of the wishing-tree]⁷⁶;
Whose watering ditch is formed by her lovely anklets and Whose flowers are
tender"⁷⁷.

That a compiler can very well take up a standpoint of his own amidst apparently conflicting lines of tradition is shown by the following fragment from the fifth chapter (ed., p. 137) which deals with the important question of the relation between the Vedic and Tantric systems of ordinary ritual:

"Because of the following pronouncements: 'Only in the said method one should have performed bathing in the Tantric way', by the author of the Kālitattva; 'this only is the Kaula twilight worship . . .' in the Brahmayāmala; 'for him who performs the Kaula ritual, the Vedic ritual is not enjoined, but for him who performs the Vedic ritual, the Kaula ritual is not enjoined', in the Rudrayāmala; and 'the ritual is not subject to . . .'⁷⁸ in the Atharvaveda, [some authorities] say

⁷³ Ed. (in 11 *tarāṅgas*) by PANCHĀNANA BHATṬĀCHĀRYA, Calcutta and London 1940 (Tantrik Texts, XXI). See also IOL Cat., IV, p. 897f. (list of authorities quoted in chs. 5–8). R. MITRA, Notices, No. 3312, describes a Ms. in 22 *tarāṅgas* and 11.204 *ślokas*. The NCC, VIII, p. 157, gives a number of 20 chapters.

⁷⁴ P. BHATṬĀCHĀRYA, Introd. to the ed., p. 3.

⁷⁵ Or, as secondary meaning: "Daughter of the King of Mountains", i.e. Pārvatī.

⁷⁶ Skt. *sthānusthām*, which should also be interpreted as: "standing on Śiva", a reference to Devī's all-powerful position as universal Śakti.

⁷⁷ By another division of words, one can read: "Who is devoid of (a skirt) of flowers", i.e. "the Naked One", one of Devī's epithets.

⁷⁸ The text is corrupt at this point.

that an adherent of the Kula system should not apply the Vedic methods of bathing, twilight worship, satisfaction of the Fathers, etc. This view is incorrect, because it is refuted by the pronouncements 'having first performed Vedic bathing, one should then perform the Tantric bath' from the *Vasiṣṭhasaṃhitā* . . . (similar prescriptions are quoted from the *Tripurāṇava* and 'another Tantra'). . . Another meaning should therefore be attached to the former series of pronouncements. In the case of the first of them, beginning with: 'only in the said method' (*uktena eva vidhānena . . . kṛtvā*) the word *eva* has an isolated position in the sentence. It should be combined with *kṛtvā* (so that the meaning becomes: 'Having just applied . . .'). In the expression 'this only is the . . . twilight worship' (*sandhyā eṣā eva . . .*), the word *eva* has the function to denote that there is no other Tantric method. The words from the *Rudrayāmala* . . . and from the *Atharvaveda* . . . are of no consequence here, because they are perfectly logical prohibitions of simultaneous execution of both ritual systems".

To Bhuvaneśvarī, the personification of the cosmic Māyā, a Bhuvaneśvarī-*rahasya* ascribed to Pṛthvīdhara has been devoted. The author is reported to have been a pupil of Govinda Bhagavatpāda and a grand-pupil of Śaṅkarācārya; in reality, he seems to have been one of the early heads of the Śṛṅgerī *maṭh*⁷⁹. The text called Bhuvaneśvarīkākṣapuṭa seems to be only a version of the Kākṣapuṭa by Nāgārjuna⁸⁰. Worship of Bhuvaneśvarī is also the main subject in Lakṣeśvara's Jñānavallī in 26 *prakāśas* written in Orissa⁸¹.

The worship of Chinnamastā, the sixth of the Mahāvidyās, obtains special treatment in the compilation which calls itself "Siddhakhaṇḍa of the Muktiśopāna". Only a few Mss. of this text are known; its reputed author is Akhaṇḍānanda⁸². Of Bagalāmukhī, we have the quite modern Bagalāmukhīrahasya by "Śrīsvāmin" which abounds in quotations from the Sāṅkhyāyanatantra⁸³.

Most of the other Tantric goddesses and gods have their own Nibandhas. Thus, the Mahāgaṇapatikrama or Gaṇeśamahotsava by Anantadeva in about 800 stanzas describes Gaṇeśa worship⁸⁴; the Rāmārcanacandrikā by Ānandavāna Yati is by far the most widely circulating ritual guide to the worship of Rāma⁸⁵. Premanidhi's Prayogaratnākara⁸⁶ in three *pravāhas* (Nitya, Naimittika, Kāmya; each of them subdivided into *ratnas*) is a famous monograph on Kārtavīryārjuna who is especially invoked for help in all kinds of practical difficulties. The author, born at Kumaon, settled at Varanasi where he was protected by a Nepali aristocrat. From about A. D. 1725 to 1755 he wrote various works on

⁷⁹ Ms. RASB No. 5883 (Cat., p. 79); cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 37, 444.

⁸⁰ Cf. Adyar Cat., p. 194. There is no such entry in KAVIRAJ's TSāh, p. 440f., where 31 titles beginning with Bhuvaneśī or -eśvarī are listed.

⁸¹ Orissa Cat., No. 122.

⁸² Cf. NCC, I, p. 16; RASB Cat., p. 554f.—The title Muktiśopāna also occurs for the second *śataka* of a Gorakṣaśataka (Ms. RASB No. 6617).

⁸³ Ed. R. N. SHARMA, Dacca 1965; cf. GOUDRIAAN, Māyā, p. 105.

⁸⁴ RASB No. 6505; KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 487.

⁸⁵ Nepal Cat., II, p. 183; IOL Cat., IV, 905f. (No. 2607); KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 558f.

⁸⁶ Nepal Cat., II, p. 141f. (1600 *ślokas*); RASB Cat., p. 659 (No. 6510).—There is another Prayogaratnākara by VASUDEVA on magic rites (3450 *śl.* acc. to the Tri-vandrum Cat.; cf. KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 402).

Tantric subjects; his third wife Prāṇamañjarī seems to have been an authority on Tantrism herself⁸⁷.

It is often difficult to draw a line between those Nibandhas which specialize in worship and *mantras* on one particular deity and the *pūjāpaddhatis*, wholly unpretentious ritual guides which only try to present a step-by-step exposition of the things to be done, gestures to be made, *mantras* to be recited, materials to be procured and prepared etc. during a ceremony. In short, they confine themselves to *prayoga* without bothering much about *pramāṇa* (authority). A few instances are the Śyāmāpūjāpaddhati by a certain “Cakravartin”⁸⁸; the Śrīvidyānityapūjāpaddhati by Sahib Kaul of Kashmir, a work of some size and importance⁸⁹ by a man of great authority in his region, author of i. a. the Devī-nāmaṇḍalā⁹⁰; or the Pūjāvidhīnirūpaṇa by Trimalla, a somewhat mysterious short tract on the worship of Bhuvaneśvarī which is quite obscure in India but had the good fortune to be edited, translated and commented upon in a modern Indological journal⁹¹. The author declares to be the pupil of Śaṅkara Nārāyaṇa, a Pāśupata.

In view of the fact that the Tantric form of worship is still regularly practised, it stands to reason that the number of Paddhatis is great and even augmenting⁹². They often find a place in collections of five “genres” of short tracts on the worship of a deity (the Pañcāṅgas): a *paṭala*, containing information on *mantra*, *nyāsa*, meditation etc.; a *pūjāpaddhati*; a *kavaca*; a *saahasranāma* or litany containing “a thousand [and eight] names”; and a *stotra*, most often in this order. In many cases the constituents have been taken from other sources.

⁸⁷ On PREMANIDHI PANT(HA) and his works, cf. CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 76f.

⁸⁸ RASB No. 6309; Cat., p. 478. The first dated Ms. seems to be of V.S. 1677 (A.D. 1620–21).

⁸⁹ RASB No. 6354; Cat., p. 529.

⁹⁰ On this author, cf. CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 79; RASB Cat., p. XL. He might be identical with the guru of the same name to whom some hymns have been devoted by his pupils, cf. RASB No. 6815.—The Devīnāmaṇḍalā, divided into sixteen cantos called Bhakti, is a poetical exposition on the thousand names of Devī; ed. M.K. SHĀSTRĪ, Lahore 1942 (KSTS, vol. LXIII). The poem was written in A.D. 1666 (Introd., p. 2).

⁹¹ “Das Pūjāvidhīnirūpaṇa des Trimalla”, by FAUSTA NOWOTNY, in: IJ, 1, 1957, p. 109–154.

⁹² A modern instance of a collection of Paddhatis is the booklet “Samkṣiptam Tāntrikam Āhnikam”, ed. BHADRAŚILA ŚARMĀ, Varanasi V.S. 2023 (A.D. 1966–67).

CHAPTER X

MONOGRAPHS ON MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Some evidently Tantric books are devoted to special subjects different from (or being a part of) daily worship. A few relatively important items will be mentioned here. On initiation, there is an anonymous *Kalādikṣārahasyacarcā* reported to consist of almost 7000 *śloka*s¹. The *Kramadikṣā* by Jagannātha, pupil of Kālikānanda, in 700 *śloka*s discusses not only the *Kramadikṣā* but also other varieties of initiation².

The subject of *puraścaraṇa*, the preliminary ritual aiming at the obtainment of mastery over a *mantra*, has given occasion to several monographs of sometimes bulky size³. The *Puraścaraṇadīpikā* written by Candrasekhara in five prakāśas and about 2400 stanzas was, according to a colophon, composed in 1512 Śaka = A.D. 1590⁴. More popular became Devendrāśrama's *Puraścaraṇa-candrikā* of 1000–1500 stanzas⁵. In the concluding verses, the author turns out to be a devotee of Rāma:

“this garland has been composed with words as flowers and meaning as thread; may it become a valuable ornament fitting for Raghunātha's neck”.

The *Puraścaraṇabodhinī* was compiled by Harakumāra Thākura of the famous Tagore family in about A.D. 1813⁶; Pratāpasimha Sāha, an eighteenth century ruler of the Gorkhali dynasty in Nepal, composed a *Puraścaryārṇava* in no less than 10.695 *śloka*s constituting twelve *tarāṅga*s⁷; but also other subjects such as initiation, the general pattern of worship and *aṅkurārpaṇa* (offering of shoots) are elaborately discussed in it.

The treatises on elements of the daily ritual (*bhūtaśuddhi*, fire sacrifice, twilight ritual etc.) are usually small and unpretentious and therefore not specified here, although they exist in fair number.

¹ R. MITRA, Notices, No. 2285.

² RASB Cat., p. 671.

³ There are 24 titles with *Puraścaraṇa*- in KAVIRAJ'S TSāh.

⁴ Nepal Cat. No. II, 127; RASB Cat., p. 677; Orissa Cat., No. 75.—Another text of the same title, a small tract by KĀŚINĀTHA, was edited from Varanasi in A.D. 1878 (IOL-SB, IV, p. 1996).

⁵ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXV, 50; RASB Cat., p. 676.

⁶ RASB Cat., p. 678; BANERJĪ, Tantra in Bengal, p. 117f.

⁷ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXV, 205f. Ed. MURALIDHAR JHA, Varanasi 1901–04, in 3 parts.—PRATĀPASIMHA SĀHA ruled from A.D. 1774 to 1776 or 1777 (Nepal Vamśāvali, trsl. S.S. SINGH and SRI GUNANAND, ed. D. WRIGHT, Cambridge 1877, Calcutta 1958, p. 172).

The ritual of Durgotsava or Navarātra and its mythological setting are described in detail in the Devīcarita “from the Rudrayāmala”⁸. The Puṣparatnākara by Navamīsiṃha restricts itself to the discussion of the ritual applications of flowers⁹; Harakumāra Thākura wrote a Śilācakraṛthabodhinī, a discussion of śilāgrāma stones¹⁰. A Prāyaścittasamuccaya dealing with the expiation of faults and omissions in Tantric worship is the work of Hṛdayaśiva¹¹. An interesting custom is described in the Ugrarathaśāntikalpaprayoga: some ritual to be executed by a person after reaching his sixtieth year¹².

The three mental dispositions or Bhāvas are dealt with in a relatively early work called Bhāvacūḍāmaṇi¹³. It is quoted by Rāghavabhaṭṭa and its title occurs as one of the sixty-four Tantras in the list of the Sarvollāsa. On *mudrās*, we have the Mudrāprakāśa by Rāmakiśora which in six chapters and about 500 śloka explains some generalities, followed by the *mudrās* of the five principal deities¹⁴. The author may be identical with the Rāmakiśora Śarman who produced a commentary Prabodhinī on the Karpūrādistotra¹⁵.

The Yantracintāmaṇi by Dāmodara gives information on the construction of various types of *yantras* which play an important role in magical rituals for the realization of practical objectives¹⁶. There are other tracts under this name, at least one of which has been edited¹⁷. Monographs on magical rites in general have been discussed above (p. 112f.). The secret ritual of the “five Makāras” was dealt with by Jñānendranātha or Jñānānanda Tīrthānanda in his Rahasya-pūjāpaddhati¹⁸.

Kuṇḍalinīyoga and the doctrine of the internal *cakras* is dealt with in various, partly old, monographs, by far the best known of which is Pūrṇānanda's Ṣaṭcakraṇirūpaṇa. In reality, this is the sixth chapter of that author's (Śrī)Tattvacintāmaṇi which obtained independent existence¹⁹. The text, a praiseworthy

⁸ RASB Cat., p. 74.—A Durgotsavapaddhati ascribed to VIDYĀPATI has been analysed in the IOL Cat., IV, p. 874 (No. 2564).

⁹ Nepal Cat. II, p. 222; B. BHATTACHARYA, Preface to his ed. of the SST, I, p. V.

¹⁰ BANERJI, Tantra in Bengal, p. 118f.

¹¹ Nepal Cat., I, p. LXVI, 215. The work is “one of many of the kind”.

¹² R. MITRA, Notices, No. 3234 (text of about 650 śl.). The same rite occurs in Baudhāyana-Gṛhya-Śeṣasūtra 5, 1.

¹³ KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 438; A. B. GHOSH, in CHI IV, p. 242.

¹⁴ Ed. from the Siddhavinayaka Press, Varanasi 1941 V.S. = 1884–85 A.D.; for the Mss.: KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 521; RASB Cat., p. 703f.

¹⁵ NCC, III, p. 191f.

¹⁶ RASB Cat., p. 707; “DĀMODARA, Kalpacintāmaṇi”, ed. and trsl. by NARENDRA NATH SHARMA, Delhi 1979.

¹⁷ Yantracintāmaṇi by CAKRADHARA with comm. by RĀMA DAIVAJÑA, ed. BH. P. ŚARMAN, Varanasi 1883.

¹⁸ BANERJI, Tantra in Bengal, p. 120.

¹⁹ Ed., with comms. by KĀLĪCARAṆA, ŚAṆKARA and VIŚVANĀTHA, by T. VIDYĀ-RATNA, in: A. AVALON, “The Serpent Power, being the Ṣaṭcakraṇirūpaṇa and Pādukāpañchaka”, Calcutta-London 1913 (Tantrik Texts, II); Madras 1924; 1931; 1958. For earlier eds., cf. AVALON, Introd., p. III; IOL-SB, IV, p. 2413f. There were at least fifteen editions, second and later printings excluded.

literary achievement consisting of 55 stanzas in *kāvya* metres (in majority *śrag-dharā* and *śārdūlavikrīḍitā*), was repeatedly commented upon²⁰. The Yogasārasamuccaya in nine or ten chapters claims to be a part of the Akulāgamatantra, a text otherwise unknown. The contents were “no doubt inspired” by the doctrines of the school of Matsyendranātha²¹. A few other works, e.g. the Yoga-viśaya, were ascribed to Matsyendranātha himself (on the Kaulajñānanirṇaya, see above, p. 50f.). Several expositions of Tantric yoga claim Gorakṣanātha, the second guru and organizer of the sect of Nātha yogins, as their author. We mention the Gorakṣaśataka, Siddhasiddhāntapaddhati and Amaraughaprabodha; more recent textbooks in the field are the Haṭhayogapradīpikā by Svātmārāma, the Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā and the Śivasāṃhitā. These should, however, rather be discussed in a history of Yoga literature²².

The Pīṭhanirṇaya or Mahāpīṭhanirūpaṇa (only 80 *ślokas*) is devoted to the Pīṭhas, the most pronounced feature of Tantric religious geography. It underwent a thorough study by D.C. Sircar²³. According to this scholar, the text (which ascribes itself to the Tantracūḍāmaṇi) is younger than Kṛṣṇānanda's Tantrasāra, but was written before A.D. 1752, the date of the Annadāmaṅgala by Bhāratacandra. Among the fifty-one *pīṭhas* mentioned by it, those from Bengal take a prominent place. The contents are taught by Pārvatī to her husband.²⁴ The Kedārakalpa, which deals with pilgrimage, can boast of a large number of Mss. of varying length (between about 1000–1600 *ślokas*). In some of them, the colophons call the text a “Tantra”, but its literary position is more

²⁰ Cf. RASB Cat., p. 531.

²¹ NCC, I, p. 8; BAGCHI, Introd. to his ed. of the KJN, p. 61; IOL Cat., p. 876; RASB Cat., p. 295; BORI Cat., p. 1.—Another Yogasārasamuccaya, by HARIṢE-VAKA, is a shortened version of BHAVADEVĀ's Yuktibhavadēva (RASB Cat., p. 726).

²² G.W. BRIGGS, Gorakhnāth and the Kānpṛaṭa Yogīs, Calcutta a.o. 1938, p. 251–257: “The literature” (outdated); KALYANI MALLIK, Siddha-siddhānta-paddhati and other works of the Nātha Yogīs, Poona 1954 (contains also the Yoga-viśaya, Amaraughaprabodha, Yogamārtanḍa which is an inflated version of the Gorakṣaśataka, etc.); Gorakṣaśatakam, ed. and trsl. by SVĀMĪ KUVALAYĀNANDA and S.A. SHUKLA, Lonavla 1958, 1974; NCC, VI, p. 175f., for a list of 45 titles ascribed to Gorakṣanātha. The younger Haṭhayoga treatises have been edited several times in India; translations have appeared in the “Sacred Books of the Hindus” and elsewhere. German trsl. of the Haṭhayogapradīpikā by H. WALTER, “Die Leuchte des Haṭhayoga”, Thesis München 1893; of the Gheraṇḍasaṃhitā by R. SCHMIDT, in: Fakire und Fakirtum im alten und modernen Indien, Berlin 1908, 1921. On the Nātha Yogins in general: S.B. DASGUPTA, Obscure Cults, 1946, p. 217–395; 425–441; 1962, p. 191–255; 367–381; J. GONDA, Die Religionen Indiens, II, Stuttgart 1963, p. 219–224; KALYANI MALLIK, Nāth-sāṃpradāyer itihās, Calcutta 1950 (in Bengali).

²³ SIRCAR, Śākta Pīṭhas; see esp. p. 3 and 23.

²⁴ There are Mss. which bear the title Aṣṭādaśapīṭha; a few *ślokas* said to have been composed by ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA were dictated by a Brahman from Orissa to SAMBUNATH KAR of Calcutta, who wrote them down in 1806 (Sircar, o.c., p. 19).

Purāṇic than Tantric²⁵. Of regional interest is the Kāmarūpanirṇaya in 25 or 27 *adhyāyas*, conceived in the form of a dialogue between the divine couple; it gives information on the dynastic history of Kāmarūpa²⁶.

The Meghamālā, again “from the Rudrayāmalatantra”²⁷, treats of divination by means of meteorological phenomena: “characteristics of clouds, effects of different types of them on plant-life and kindred topics”²⁸, but also on the influences exerted by planets, the sounds uttered by crows etc.

The use of stimulants is the subject in a few very small tracts of which we mention the Saṃvitkalpa (60 *ślokas*) on the origin and preparation of hemp²⁹. The Dakṣiṇāvartaśaṅkhākalpa describes the “conch-shell with windings to the right”, a sacred object highly valued in Tantric circles³⁰.

A group on its own is constituted by the lexica (*koṣa*, *kośa*) of Tantric code language of which several items exist; their size is restricted. These aids in mastering Tantric terminology are, we may assume, of comparatively recent date; they came into existence when the oral explanation by direct spiritual descendants of the authors of original Tantras was felt to be in need of systematization and additional elucidation. They are of two kinds: the Koṣa type gives general synonyms while the second type (*nighaṇṭu*) lists technical expressions (*pārībhāṣika*) for letters or terms which are confined to the Tantras (for instance: Bhrgu for the syllable *sa*, Vahni for *ra*)³¹. In general, these tracts (of both types) depart from the letters or other coded items and list the various synonyms which exist for these. In order to find out the codes used in a particular text, one is still in need of an alphabetical index of the codings.

The most popular specimen is without any doubt the Uddhārakośa attributed to Dakṣiṇāmūrti. The text is also known under several other titles³². Its six or seven *paṭalas* comprise about 500 *ślokas*. A Bijakośa which records the “creation” of *bijas* (kernel syllables, potent utterances symbolizing or rather incorporating deities) by means of a code system is sometimes also ascribed to the same author. But several different texts are adorned with this title; in a few cases, they may only be fragments of other works (for instance, the Bijakośa

²⁵ Ed. R. N. ŚARMA, Varanasi 1913; V. BHATTĀCĀRYA, Bombay (Venkateshvara Steam Press) 1906. Cf. NCC, V, p. 30f.

²⁶ Assam Cat., p. 171. It may be identical with the Kāmarūpanibandha mentioned in the NCC, III, 256.

²⁷ Ed. from Varanasi, Kāśī Saṃskṛta Press, 1878; by RAGHUVAMŚA ŚARMA, Bombay ³1911; see IOL-SB, III, p. 1611. The Ms. RASB No. 5875 contains eleven *adhyāyas* and 1075 *ślokas*.

²⁸ RASB Cat., p. (71).

²⁹ RASB No. 6068. Eleven titles with *saṃvit*- are mentioned in KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 674f.

³⁰ Bikaner Cat., p. 582 (only 3 fol.).

³¹ AVALON, Introd. to Tantrābhidhāna, p. VII.

³² Ed. from Varanasi V.S. 1924 (A.D. 1867–68); ed. RAGHU VIRA and SHODO TAKI, New Delhi 1978. On the Mss., see NCC, II, p. 339f.; BORI Cat., p. 52f; RASB Cat., p. 436f.; 187. Cf. also RENOU a.o., Inde Cl., I, par. 856.

by “Krodhīśabhairava” is perhaps the second part of the Bijanighaṇṭu by “Bhairava”)³³. This latter text consists of four different parts: 1. An enumeration of letters in alphabetical sequence, each followed by one synonym (the method of an Ekākṣarakoṣa); for the vowels, they are in the feminine, for the consonants in the masculine gender. This part has been quoted, according to an introductory *śloka*, from the Bhūtaḍāmaratantra; 2. A construction of some *bijas* with the help of the code communicated under 1; 3. A new list of synonyms, this time presenting several of them for each letter; 4. A list of various *mantras* in code.³⁴ Also of the Varṇābhidhāna by Yadunandana Bhaṭṭācārya (about 190 *ślokas*) several Mss. exist³⁵.

The title Mantrakośa (or -koṣa) again stands for more than one text. One of these, compiled by Āśāditya Tripaṭhī, is of considerable size: more than 4000 *ślokas*³⁶. It does not belong to the type discussed above, but gives a general description of *mantras* and their applications.

The tradition of guru worship without doubt gave occasion to a considerable amount of legendary tales. Some of these were incorporated in specimens of hagiographic literature, perhaps inspired by Vidyāraṇya’s Śaṅkaradigvijaya, but on a much smaller scale. The life of the famous Bhāskararāya was described by his pupil Umānanda in the Bhāskaravilāsa³⁷; the Sarvānandatarāṅgiṇī cherishes the memory of Sarvānanda, a devotee of the Mother Goddess as Bhavānī, who lived in Mehar; the small work (about 325 *ślokas*) is attributed to Sarvānanda’s son Śivānanda Bhaṭṭācārya.³⁸ Some hagiographic material was collected in the Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṃgraha³⁹.

³³ Three different Bijakoṣas are listed in RASB Cat., p. 465–67; see further, KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 422f. A Bijakoṣa was edited in 1907 in the Koṣasaṃgraha, by VIDYĀNIDHI BHATṬĀCĀRYA, p. 183–186.

³⁴ The Bijanighaṇṭu has been edited together with several other tracts of this type by T. VIDYĀRATNA, “Tantrābhidhāna”, Calcutta and London 1913 (Tantrik Texts, 1) on p. 27–34; the “Tantrābhidhāna” volume was re-edited with an English trsl. by RAM KUMAR RAI, Varanasi 1978 (Indological Reference Series, No. 2) with the title “Dictionaries of Tantra Śāstra”.

³⁵ Ed. in “Tantrābhidhāna” (see the preceding note), p. 5–22 (title: Mantrābhidhānam) without an author’s name being mentioned. The name of the author is also given as ŚRĪNANDANA or NANDANABHAṬṬA. Twelve titles beginning with Varṇa- are listed in KAVIRAJ’s TSāh, p. 584.

³⁶ There are Mss. in Baroda, Poona and Varanasi (KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 459).—Real Mantrakoṣas have been edited in R.M. CHATTOPADHYAYA’s Tantrasāra, 1887–84 and Sulabhatantraprakāśa, 1881–86 (IOL-SB, III, p. 1575).

³⁷ Ed. in the NSP ed. of the Lalitāsahasranāma with comm. by BHĀSKARARĀYA. Cf. the NCC, II, p. 390.—The Śaṅkaradigvijaya was edited by the Pandits of the Ānandāśrama, Poona 31932 (ĀSS, Vol. 22).

³⁸ Ed. with a Bengali trsl. by ĀSANNABANDHU TARKATĪRTHA, Calcutta 1932; earlier ed. by PŪRNACANDRA DĀSA, Komila, B.S. 1289 = A.D. 1881 (ref. in IOL-SB, IV, p. 2394).

³⁹ Ed. G. KAVIRAJ, Varanasi 1925, PWSBT, vol. 18. A passage from the text dealing with a strife between ŚAṅKARA and a Kāpālika was discussed by LORENZEN, Kāpālikas, p. 35; cf. also p. 31, n. 102.

CHAPTER XI

SOME WORKS OF SPECULATIVE CONTENTS

There are not many Tantric monographs which concentrate on speculative matters; and even if they do so, other subjects are seldom left out altogether. Philosophy has always been regarded by the Tantrics as structurally connected with the yogic practice of realizing the unity of the self and the All within oneself. Many statements of speculative interest lie therefore embedded in ritual or yogic passages in "Original Tantras" as well as in Tantric digests. Moreover, a great deal of literature from the older period, which was certainly the most creative in philosophical respect, has been lost. The early Śākta-oriented Krama school of Kashmir, repeatedly alluded to by Trika authors (Abhinavagupta and others) produced many texts, for instance the Kramasūtras or Kramasiddhi, manuscripts of which are not found any more¹. The same holds good for some early speculatively-minded works of the Kula tradition. The philosophical literature of what is commonly called "Kashmir Śaivism" will be discussed in another volume of this series. Only one text written by Abhinavagupta (± A. D. 1000) cannot however be passed over in silence because of its inestimable value as a source of early Tantric thought, ritual and literary history, namely his encyclopaedic Tantrāloka "Light on Tantra", in which this versatile and most learned writer tries to present a general survey of the esoteric Śaiva doctrine and practices as they prevailed in the Kashmir of his age². We do not give an exhaustive description of this work, but only refer to those aspects of it which are of interest from the viewpoint of the history of the literary description of Tantric theory and practice.

The Tantrāloka is outstanding because of the disciplined description of systematic metaphysical and theological thought; of the author's complete familiarity with the subject-matter which he treats scholarly and authoritatively (see for instance the systematic enumeration of subjects at the end of chapter I); of the sincere manner in which he pays balanced attention to different tra-

¹ Cf. K. C. PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 469, 473; RASTOGI, Krama Tantricism, p. 167, 239; G. KAVIRAJ, Preface to 2nd ed. of TR, Jñānakhaṇḍa, p. III.

² Tantrāloka of ABHINAVAGUPTA, ed. (with the comm. by RĀJĀNĀKA JAYARATHA) by M. K. SHASTRI, Srinagar-Bombay 1918-38 (12 vols.), KSTS vol. 23, 28, 30, 36, 35, 29, 41, 47, 59, 52, 57, 58. Trsl. into Italian by RANIERO GNOLI, "Luce delle sacre scritture", Torino 1972; a pioneer work of great merit, although the translator allowed himself too much freedom on some points, while in some cases he paraphrases JAYARATHA's comments without noticing the reader.

ditions embedded in sacred literature. It is only natural that this experienced rhetorician and expert in aesthetical theory shows himself a complete master of Sanskrit composition. Yet his style, although versatile, is somewhat unwieldy, sometimes even darker than was perhaps necessary owing to a predilection for extension of parts of speech over more than one stanza; there is also a tendency to cursoriness in the presentation of doctrines paraphrased from other authorities. The specialized jargon and the sometimes mystifying method of presentation (e.g. in 3,65f.) add to the difficulty of the text. The metrical structure is simple: in the bulk of the work the author contents himself with writing *anuṣṭubhs*. In non-speculative matters, especially ritual and Tantric esoterism, he is rather a transmitter than an innovator; a fact which he freely acknowledges (e.g. in 1,17: his debt to the *Mālinivijayatantra*). Although he does not hesitate to put forward his own identity (1,16; 1,20; concluding stanzas), he takes care to record his indebtedness to the anonymous sacred tradition of the earlier gurus of the several *paramparās* into which he was initiated. In some cases he tries to harmonize seemingly differing viewpoints or systems of nomenclature (e.g. in 3,146: the views of the Kulagahvara and the *Triśirobhairava*). He seldom quotes, usually paraphrases³. In this way the work assumes the character of a comprehensive survey of the manifold aspects of the tradition; an early and precious digest, but much more sincere and faithful to its sources than other works of its kind such as the *Śāradātīlaka* or even the *Prapañcasāra*—and much more personal, original and meritorious in literary respect than the later compilations.

As an instance of the above mentioned process of paraphrasing and abbreviation, we point to TĀ 16,59d–61b in comparison with *Netratantra* 20, 18 and 19 (referred to as “*Mṛtyuñjaye*”); the subject is an apology of the ritual killing of animals:

Tantrāloka 16	Netratantra 20
59d <i>pāśacchede kṛte paśoḥ</i>	(as quoted by Jayaratha)
60a <i>malatrayaviyogena</i>	18 <i>mūlacchedena hi paśor</i>
60b <i>śarīraṃ na prarohati</i>	<i>jighāmsanti malatrayam /</i>
61ab <i>tenaitan māraṇaṃ noktaṃ</i>	<i>malatrayaviyuktasya</i>
<i>dikṣeyaṃ cītrarūpiṇī</i>	<i>śarīraṃ na prarohati //</i>
	19 <i>dikṣāvad yojanaṃ tasya</i>
	<i>paśor naiva hi ghātanaṃ /</i>
	<i>vyāpakena svarūpeṇa</i>
	<i>svasaktivibhavena ca //</i>

Translation of the fragment from the *Netratantra*:

“By cutting through the root of the animal[’s existence],
they desire to kill off its threefold impurity;
when its threefold impurity has been removed,

³ Fortunately, the passages paraphrased from “Original Tantras” (which in most cases went lost) are often supplied literally by JAYARATHA in his commentary. On these Tantras, see above, p. 48f.

its body does not grow again.
As in initiation, this is not a killing,
but the unification of the animal
with its all-pervasive inner Self
and the power of its Śakti”.

Translation of the paraphrase in the Tantrāloka:

“When the existential bond of the animal has been cut through,
its body does not grow again
because of the removal of the threefold impurity.
Therefore, this cannot be called slaughter;
it is an initiation of wondrous form”.⁴

Another passage in the same chapter (16, 250f.) describing the mystic nature of the guru’s concentrated thought:

“When articulated thought becomes identified with concentrated speech (*saṃjalpa*, the “expressive” power of the *mantra* uttered on the occasion), it obtains the character of reflection (*vimarśa*, the characteristic function of the cosmic Śakti), and this reflection has Mantra as its self, pure and characterized by freedom from the defiled status; eternal and built up in identity with the eternally liberal Śiva; by its connection with this [reflection] even the teacher’s articulated thought obtains the Śiva-nature”.

A lyrical stanza from the last chapter (37, 43, in *śikhariṇī* metre) in praise of alcoholic drink:

“The group of arrows of Kāma abides revealed here on earth
as a molten form of the flame of Śiva’s divine wrath,
in the guise of liquor;
how else could He continue subjugating the world,
harassing it with the pangs of Love,
creating delusion, pride and erotical passion?”

Although it is difficult to separate the “speculative” altogether from the “ritual” element, one can say that the former predominates in the first part of the Tantrāloka and the latter in the second part. The thirty-seven chapters are very unequal in length. After an introductory exposition of forms of consciousness, the author dwells at length on the *upāyas*, means of realization of the divine self; then on the *adhvans*, systems of cosmic powers applied as “ways of access” to the released state (ch. VIII-XII), followed by a description of the graceful activity of the Śakti (XIII). Varieties of initiation come in chapters XIV-XXI, with minor ritual prescriptions in the next six short chapters. The long twenty-eighth chapter treats of special (*naimittika*) ritual in various forms; chapter XXIX on the secret ceremonies in the *kula* tradition. Separate ritual elements obtain treatment in the chapters XXX (*mantras*), XXXI (*maṇ-*

⁴ The next lines, also of much interest, are left out here for the sake of brevity. The scheme is: TĀ 16, 59d–60b, cf. NT 20, 18; TĀ 16, 60cd, cf. NT 20, 20ab; TĀ 16, 61ab, cf. NT 20, 19ab + 20cd; TĀ 16, 61cd, cf. NT 20, 21. There is no counterpart for NT 20, 19cd except in the word *citrarūpiṇī*.

ḍala), XXXII (*mudrā*), XXXIII (ritual groups of standard numbers). Chapter XXXIV, of only 3½ stanzas, describes the penetration into the secret Śiva-nature, while XXXV–XXXVII are devoted to the theory of the scriptural tradition; a long section at the end (37, 33–85) gives personal information on the author himself, his spiritual lineage and his family⁵.

A condensation of the subject-matter of the Tantrāloka was given by Abhinavagupta in the Tantrasāra, a work mainly in prose⁶.

Abhinavagupta's comprehensive studies of Tantric thought are without parallel. His commentator Jayaratha was perhaps the last important representant of the Śaiva Tantric school of Kashmir. The Krama literature was continued by Maheśvarānanda in his Mahārthamañjarī⁷ and on a modest scale by a few later authors⁸. The Kula tradition developed a great productivity, but not as a rule in the sphere of speculative thought. In practice, the extant literature of Tantric speculation in overwhelming majority belongs to a special subgroup among the Kaulas: the Śrīvidyā school (on the Original Tantras of this school, see above, p. 58f.). In many respects, it continues the Kashmir tradition. Of much importance are the commentaries, especially their introductions and early parts; they were usually written by intellectuals who stood in a tradition of scholarly discussion on theoretical viewpoints. Among the most authoritative commentators mention should be made of Amṛtānanda (Dīpikā on the Yoginihṛdaya), Śivānanda of Kerala (Rjūvimarsinī on the Nityāśoḍaśikārnava), Lakṣmīdhara (Lakṣmīdhari on the Ānandalahari), Bhāskaraṛāya (Setubandha on the Yoginihṛdaya), Unmattānanda (Vidyābodhinī on the Śrīsūkta) and the nineteenth century author Rāmeśvara (Saubhāgyasudhodaya on the Paraśurāmakalpasūtra); all of them representatives of the Śrīvidyā school. An important source, but more of ritual than of philosophy, is Rāghavabhaṭṭa's Padārthādarśa on the Śāradātilaka.⁹

A specimen of the commentators' style is taken from Amṛtānanda's Dīpikā on YH 1,5cd:

YH: "... having realized this [*cakra*], one will immediately enter into the state of a *khecara* ('one who wanders in the sky')".

Dīpikā: "only by the knowledge of this [*cakra*], a pupil [will enter into] the state of a *khecara*—'in the *kha*, i.e. the Supreme Space he wanders', is the explanation of *khecara* which means: 'the Supreme Śiva'. The following is said in the Cidgaganacandrikā: 'He who wanders in the abode of the God of the Fiery Eyes, in the Space which is within the sun and moon which incorporate His activity'¹⁰;

⁵ For particulars, see PANDEY, Abhinavagupta, p. 3f. (ch. 1).

⁶ Ed. M. K. ŚĀSTRĪ, Bombay 1918 (KSTS, vol. 17).

⁷ See GONDA, MRL, p. 286.

⁸ See RASTOGI, Krama Tantricism, p. 224f.

⁹ For editions of the commentaries, see the above notes to the discussion of the original texts.

¹⁰ I.e. who conducts his secret life-principle in the form of the Kuṇḍalinī through the Suṣumnā yogic duct and between the Piṅgalā and the Idā towards the abode of Śiva located in the mystic centre above the head.

that upper pinnacle, the Supreme Space—there reveal [to him] the Śiva-nature, O Mother’.

‘Immediately he will enter into that state’ means: ‘one becomes a *jīvanmukta*’.

Bhāskararāya explains the same passage of the Yoginīhṛdaya in the Setubandha:

“‘in the *kha*, i.e. the Supreme Space, he wanders’ is the explanation of the word *khecari* which means ‘the Goddess’; Her state is the state of one who wanders through the sky. In this connection the masculine stem is used in accordance with the grammatical rule ‘*tv atalor guṇavacanasya*’. Further, the Śivasūtra says thus: ‘during the spontaneous rise of Wisdom from the Self, the Śiva-state is [realized in] the [internal] *mudrā* called *Khecari*’. And this is explained by the author of the Exposition: . . .” (here follows a quotation from Bhāskara’s Śivasūtravārttika on this *mudrā* as an exponent of the Śiva-state).

On YH 1, 6a “the recognizable form (*saṅketa*) which is the Orbit” (*cakra*, i.e. Śrīcakra), the commentaries have the following to say:

Dīpikā: “*saṅketaka*, just as *saṅketa*, means ‘agreement’ (*saṁaya*). Just as a pair of lovers, having made an agreement among themselves, come to live together on any place of their choice, thus in this [*cakra*] Śiva and his Spouse are present. The Agreement is threefold: of the Orbit, of the Mantra, and of Worship . . . this threefoldness of the *saṅketa* should be compared to the threefold form of the Supreme Goddess: Light (*prakāśa*), Reflection (*vimarśa*) and their Blissful Union (*sāmarasya*)”.

Setubandha: “The Orbit, i.e. the totality of Śaktis,—of this, the *saṅketa* is the secret form. ‘The *saṅketas* of *mantra* and *pūjā*’ means: ‘the *saṅketa* of *mantra* and the *saṅketa* of *pūjā*’ because the word which is handed down immediately after a copulative compound may be connected with both parts of that compound. The suffix *-ka-* used in all three [compounds ending on *-saṅketaka-*] has the function to denote what is unknown¹¹. Having by positive way of expression said [what amounted to]: ‘by insight into the three *saṅketas*, one becomes Brahman’, he now uses the negative way of expression . . . (in YH 1, 7) . . .”

Of the speculative monographs, we first mention the Śaktisūtras attributed to Agastya, a series of 113 pronouncements on Śākta doctrine modelled after the Śivasūtras¹². Its date and the extent of its influence are at the moment difficult to assess.

Much more important is the Tripurārahasya, a very voluminous work (about 12.000 ślokas according to tradition) of an unknown author, generally written in ślokas of Purāṇic style, on the philosophy and mythology of Tripurā. It consists of three parts called the Māhātmya-, Jñāna- and Caryākhaṇḍa (the latter still unedited). The Māhātmyakhaṇḍa is the longest: in 80 *adhyāyas* and 6687 ślokas it treats of Tripurā’s origin, her battles with various demons and other exploits¹³. It is cast in the form of a dialogue between Sumedha (the

¹¹ *ajñātārthaka-*; cf. Setubandha on YH 2, 1: the suffix *ka-* in *saṅketakam* is used in the meaning of ‘something unknown’, [and the idea is:] ‘I shall proclaim to Thee Thine *mantrasaṅketa* which up till now had remained unknown to everybody’.

¹² Ed. M. D. SHASTRI, Varanasi 1938, in: SBG 10, p. 182–187; ed. K. V. ABHYANKAR, as Appendix II to HAYAGRĪVA’s Śāktadarśana, Poona 1966.

¹³ Ed. MUKUNDA LĀLA ŚĀSTRĪ, Varanasi 1932 (KSS, vol. 92).

narrator) and Nārada; Sumedha Hāritāyana (sic) obtained his information from Paraśurāma who acted as his guru. The work is definitely of South Indian origin: Sumedha is reported to have lived at Madurai (Hālāsyapura, 1, 96), while Paraśurāma had his ashram in the Malaya mountains. The latter in his turn had been enlightened on an earlier occasion by Dattātreyā.

The Jñānakhaṇḍa¹⁴ of the Tripurārahasya consists of 2163 śloka in blameless, but often unclear Sanskrit arranged into 22 *adhyāyas*. Its setting is an exposé given by (Sumedha) Hāritāyana to Nārada which, just as in the Māhātmyakhaṇḍa, reproduces earlier teachings communicated by Dattātreyā to Paraśurāma. Its fundamental standpoint, as usual in Śākta circles, is that of Advaita, but of a special kind: the world and the soul are nothing else than a real self-manifestation (*ābhāsa*) of the Supreme Śakti, who also completely covers the principle of eternal luminous intelligence represented by the Supreme Śiva as whose freedom of will and action She functions¹⁵. This philosophy of “realistic monism”, in reality an extreme form of monistic idealism, is to a great extent dependent on the Spanda and Pratyabhijñā schools of Kashmir Śaivism, the terminology of which it partly adopted. At the beginning of the Jñānakhaṇḍa Paraśurāma, whose devotion has been aroused by listening to Tripurā’s martial exploits, asks for enlightenment on the question of the cause of the individual soul’s existence in *samsāra*, being trapped by *karman*. His guru, Dattātreyā, gives a discourse on discrimination (*vicāra*) as the decisive factor for entering upon the road to enlightenment. In this context he refers to the story of Hemacūḍa, a prince who in a forest hermitage meets Hemalekhā, daughter of a king of Bengal and a Vidyādhari and marries her. After some time, being somewhat annoyed by her seemingly indifferent behaviour, he asks for an explanation. Hemalekhā then informs him about the relativity of earthly happiness. Her husband, thus enlightened, obtains detachment and inquires further. He hears (chs. IV–X) of the necessity of unattachment, confidence and devotion towards the deity, and gains insight into fundamental truths. These chapters contain a large amount of “practical philosophy”, bordering on ethics and the question of “how to live” or “which view of the world to take”. The discourse is illustrated by means of more than one narrative in the form of allegory (*vyapadeśena*). Thus, there is the tale of Hemalekhā’s former two female companions, a good one (Buddhi) and an evil-minded one (Avidyā) with her son Mūḍha (*moha*). Not before chapter nine is the question posed after Tripurā’s identity as the Supreme Consciousness, the secret of her “being unborn” and the nature of the individual Self as Pure Consciousness.

¹⁴ Ed. in three parts by G. KAVIRAJ and NĀRĀYAṆA ŚĀSTRĪ KHISTE, Varanasi 1925–28 (PWSBT, No. 15); second ed. by G. KAVIRAJ in 1965, with the comm. *Tātparyadīpikā*, composed in A.D. 1831 by ŚRĪNIVĀSABUDHA (SBG, 15); earlier ed. from Belgaum, 1894; free trsl. by A. U. VASAVADA, Varanasi 1965 (CSStudies, 50).

¹⁵ For further particulars and references, see GOUDRIAAN in: S. GUPTA a.o., HT, p. 47f.

“Where even the parrots in their cages pronounce these words: ‘concentrate upon your own Self as possessing the nature of consciousness . . . ; there is no object of consciousness outside consciousness itself, just as there is no reflection outside a mirror; the object of consciousness is consciousness, the I is consciousness, everything moving and motionless is consciousness’ . . .” (10, 63f.).

The next chapters continue this theme of Tripurā as pure consciousness (*citi*) with the world as the product of her spontaneous effulgence. In complete autonomy (*svātantrya*), She causes the picture of the world to appear on the wall of her own Self; the existence of the world can be compared to that of a reflection in a mirror. In chapter XIV (vs. 57f.), the question as to how creation, characterized by articulated thought (*vikalpa*), could originate from the *nirvikalpā citi* is answered by means of a description of the thirty-six *tattvas* (categories of existence). Most of these truths are set into the frame of simple stories, such as that of Aṣṭāvakra who was enlightened by an unnamed woman and by Janaka of Videha (chapters XVf.). Chapters XIX and XX treat of the problem as to how the sages and yogins who realized this unique wisdom still could tread different paths to final release. In chapter XX (vs. 30–137) there is a Vidyāgitā in which Tripurā herself enlightens the gods and sages on her secret nature.

The Tripurārahasya seems to stand isolated within the literature of Śākta Tantrism but might be compared with the in literary respect far superior “philosophical epic” *Yogavāsiṣṭha*.

Mention might now be made of a number of monographs of relatively small size, but by no means unimportant contents, on the interpretation of the Śrīvidyā and the Śricakra. The Subhagodaya, ascribed to Śivānanda¹⁶ but in some cases to Gauḍapāda¹⁷, succinctly (there are 52 stanzas) deals with the subject of the first chapter of the Nityāṣoḍaśikārnava¹⁸. It is quoted by Amṛtānanda in his Dīpikā and by Māheśvara in his auto-commentary Parimala on his Mahārthamañjarī¹⁹.

Of more importance and fame is Puṇyānanda’s Kāmakaḷāvilāsa²⁰, a learned

¹⁶ Ed. by V. V. DWIVEDA as an Appendix to his ed. of the NSA, p. 284–296; see also his Intro., p. 19f.

¹⁷ FARQUHAR, RLI, p. 388, referring to older authorities; VENKATARAMAN, in CHI, IV, p. 255.

¹⁸ See above, p. 59f.

¹⁹ The quotations are listed in LAS, p. 157f.

²⁰ Ed. with a trsl. by A. AVALON, Calcutta 1921 (Tantrik Texts, X); ²Madras 1953; ⁴Madras 1971 in: J. WOODROFFE, Tantrarāja Tantra and Kāmakaḷāvilāsa, p. 129–245, together with a trsl. of parts of the commentary (Cidvalli) by NAṬANĀNAN-DANĀTHA (on this commentator, see R. KRISHNASWAMI AIYAR in the fourth ed. of the KKV, p. 132). The edited text lacks critical notes and is marred by printer’s errors. Some other eds.: Bellary 1913 (with the Cidvalli; Telugu char.); by MUKUNDA RĀMA SHĀSTRĪ, Bombay 1918 (KSTS, 12; extracts from the comm.); from Madras 1934 (with a Telugu comm.); from Madras 1942 (with a Tamil comm.). Trsl. PH. RAWSON, in The Art of Tantra, London 1973, p. 198–203.—Acc. to the NCC, III, p.

exposition in 55 artfully composed Āryā stanzas of the principles of cosmogonic symbolism which were geometrically represented in the Śrīcakra. It follows the Hādi interpretation of the Śrīvidyā²¹. Date and place of the author are uncertain²², but in any case he preceded Bhāskararāya who quotes him²³. The introductory stanzas concentrate on the transcendent union of Śiva and Śakti. The first stage of creation is the Mahābindu, the contracted form of the Śakti which appears “on the wall of consciousness when the . . . rays of the sun which is the Supreme Śiva are reflected in the spotless mirror which is Reflection”. How this primeval creative principle develops into the Kāmakalā is described in stanzas 6 and 7:

“[It becomes] a pair of Bindus, white and red, in which Śiva and Śakti obtain a separate existence, [alternatively] contracting and expanding; the cause of creation of Word and Meaning; entering into each other and yet distinguishable from each other; the [twofold] Bindu has the nature of ‘ego’²⁴; the Sun is the embodiment of the unity-consciousness brought forth by their pairing; it is Desire (Kāma) because of its desirability; the two Bindus, whose concrete manifestations are Fire and Moon, are called Kalā”.

After describing creation, the text then concentrates on the symbolical identity between (Śrī)vidyā, (Śrī)cakra, deity and the initiate’s self. Attention is focused especially on the Cakra (20f.) the identity of which with speech (*nāda* or “vibration”; the four stages *Parā* etc.; the alphabet) is expounded in the process. The iconographical form of the Goddess and the attendant deities who preside over her emanations in the Cakra are described in 35f., whereas 50f. deal with the position of the lineage of gurus (beginning with Śiva) within the system.

The most outstanding authority among the adherents of the Śrīvidyā system in the later period was without doubt Bhāskararāya, a South Indian R̥gveda Brahman of the Viśvāmitra *gotra* who seems to have flourished in the first half or the middle of the eighteenth century²⁵. He completed his studies in Varanasi,

344f., there are 7 Skt. commentaries; besides the Cidvallī, the Tātparyacandrikā by ŚIVACIDĀNANDA and the *bhāṣya* by ŚĀṆKARA, son of Kamalākara.—The Mss. are especially numerous in the South.

²¹ WOODROFFE, TT and KKV, p. 133.—On the Kāmakalā, see PADOUX, Recherches, p. 115f.

²² “A renowned Bengali tantric” (BHARATI, Tantric Tradition, p. 318); “ouvrage assurément cachemirien” (PADOUX, Recherches, p. 66).

²³ NCC, l.c. (see n. 20).

²⁴ Skt. *aham*; in this context it in the first place denotes the mystic combination of *a* and *ha*, first and last letter of the Devanāgarī alphabet.

²⁵ His comms. on the Lalitāsahasranāma and the Yoginīhrdaya were finished in 1728 and in 1733 or 1741 A.D.; another work in 1741 or 1751. He quotes the Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntamañjūṣā by NĀGOJĪ BHATṬA (literary career between 1688–1755) and that same scholar’s comm. on the Durgāsaptasatī. He is further said to have revised the Nityotsava by his pupil UMĀNANDANĀTHA which was completed in 1775. See R. KRISHNASWAMI SASTRI, Introd. to the ed. of the VVR by S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, p. XVIIIf.

repeatedly shew off his proficiency in debate, and after some wanderings settled in a village near Tanjore, where he had connections with the court²⁶. He was a versatile scholar and prolific writer on various subjects, i. a. grammar, prosody, Mimāṃsā, Nyāya, poetry and Dharma. At least 42 titles go under his name, but of only about 18 of them manuscripts are available²⁷. His most important Śākta works are the *Setubandha*, an extensive commentary on the *Yoginīhṛdaya* (for two fragments, see above, p. 166), commentaries on a few Śākta Upaniṣads (*Bhāvanā*, *Kaula*, *Tripurā*) and on the *Lalitāsahasranāma* (*Saubhāgyabhāskara*) and the independent treatise *Varivasyārahasya* "Secret of Worship"²⁸. The latter work is an able exposition of Śrīvidyā mysticism, not unlike the *Kāmakalāvīlāsa* in style (it is also written in Āryās, except the first two stanzas which are *Sragdharās*), but larger (167 stanzas in the Adyar edition) and more methodically presented. The author himself provided it with a commentary called *Prakāśa*. Although the *Varivasyārahasya* is probably Bhāskararāya's first work on the subject (the *Setubandha* and the other commentaries contain references to it), it reveals the author's mastery of Sanskrit composition and Śrīvidyā philosophy.

The contents almost wholly concentrate on the interpretation of the Śrīvidyā in the Kādi variety and deal with its Vedic nature (6–8); its outward form and pronunciation (9–31); its constituents (four *bījas*, 32) and presiding deities (32–36); the mystical presence within it of the five stages of consciousness (waking, dreaming, deep sleep, and two mystic states called *turiya* and *turyātila*), of six successive stages of the cosmic Void, and of seven "coordinates" (*viśuva*) (37–53). Here begins the second part, which gives an exposition of fifteen secret meanings (*artha*-, enumerated in 57f.; the YH gave only six of these) of the Śrīvidyā. One of the meanings on which the *Yoginīhṛdaya* is silent concerns the identification of the Vidyā with the Vedic Gāyatrī (60f.), which testifies to the increased concern of Veda-oriented Śākta theoreticians to connect their world-view with the time-honoured tradition of the R̥ṣis.

Here and there the diction reminds us of that of the *Yoginīhṛdaya*, but the treatise as a whole shows a high degree of originality within the limits imposed by the system. The possibilities of symbolic interpretation of the fifteen syllables which together form the Śrīvidyā have here been explored to the bottom.

There are a few minor writings produced by other schools which devote most of their attention to fundamentals of Tantric speculation. In a few cases they do so in the form of a *guruśiṣyasamvāda* during which the teacher intimates these subjects, which are especially unfit for divulgation, to a pupil as a personal

²⁶ See R. KRISHNASWAMI SASTRI, o.c., p. XVII–XXV; V. V. DWIVEDA, *Introd.* to the NSA, p. 15f.; PANDEY, *Abhinavagupta*, p. 583–589; CHAKRAVARTI, *Tantras*, p. 74f.

²⁷ R. K. SASTRI, o.c., p. XXIX–XXXIII.

²⁸ Ed (with the author's own comm.) S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, *Madras* (Adyar) 1934 (ALS, vol. 28); ²1941; ³1968; ed. ISHVARA CHANDRA SHASTRI, *Calcutta* 1917 (with the *Bhāvanopaniṣad*); ed. from *Bombay* 1901; from *Amalapuram* 1908 (*Te-lugu char.*). Cf. IOL-SB, IV, p. 2902.

communication. The *Ātmarahasya*²⁹ by Śrīnātha, a pupil of Brahmānanda, calls itself a "text-book on the knowledge of Brahman". Its 19 *ullāsas* contain discussions of subjects such as "Brahman as the conscious principle" (IV), "unity between the individual soul and the Supreme" (VI), "identity of Brahman with the cosmos" (VII), "the Śakti Māyā" (VIII); but also the six yogic *cakras* (in XI), creation (XIII) and even the glory of Kāśī (XVIII) are treated.

Rāmeśvaratattvānanda, a Kāyastha, wrote his *Prabodhamihirodaya* in eight *avakāśas* in 1597 Śaka (A.D. 1675). The work is largely a compilation from Tantras, Purāṇas, the *Bhagavadgītā* and *Smṛtis* and deals with the knowledge of Brahman, cosmology, the soul, and Tantric worship³⁰.

The most productive of the later Tantric authors without doubt was Kāśīnātha Bhaṭṭa "Bhaḍa" (religious name: Śivānandanātha), son of Jayarāma, who lived at Varanasi in the eighteenth, or perhaps the seventeenth, century³¹. He wrote more than sixty works, but they are almost without exception tracts of limited size³². Many of these are succinct expositions of the worship of some Tantric deity (for instance, the Śāmbhavācārakaumudī, Śiva-, Rāma- and Kṛṣṇapūjātarāṅgiṇī, Śivabhaktirasāyana, Caṇḍikārcanadīpikā, Tārāpūjārasāyana); others concern polemics against left-hand forms of Kaula worship, e.g. Vāmācāramatakhaṇḍana³³ or Kaulagajamardana "Trampling the Kaula Elephant"³⁴. The *Durjanamukhacapeṭikā* "Slap in the Face of the Wretches"³⁵ attempts to prove, mainly by means of quotations from the Purāṇas, that the *Devībhāgavatapurāṇa* is the only text that merits the title "Bhāgavatapurāṇa". The *Kāpālikamatavyavasthā* has been mentioned above (p. 121). A study of the polemics contained in tracts of this kind would certainly make for the increase of our knowledge of Tantric history and apology. Kāśīnātha also wrote two works with the title *Śivādvaitaprakāśikā* (690 and 270 stanzas). They try to prove by philosophical argumentation that nothing exists outside Śiva who is eternally united with His Śakti³⁶. Among the texts commented upon

²⁹ Ms. RASB 6201, Cat. p. 364f. There are about 2000 stanzas. An anonymous commentary on chs. 1–10 is to be found in RASB 6202. Some colophons give the title as *Svātmarahasya*; the title is given as *Ātmapūjā* by KAVIRAJ, TSāh, p. 41f.—There exists another *Ātmapūjā* ascribed to ŚAṆKARA; for old editions, cf. IOL-SB, I, p. 230.

³⁰ CSC Cat., No. 49 (p. 47f.), where the beginning of the work is profusely quoted.

³¹ On his date, see CHAKRAVARTI, Cat. RASB, p. XXXIV. There are no Mss. older than A.D. 1793.

³² NCC, IV, p. 129f. (57 independent works and 10 commentaries).

³³ NCC, IV, p. 131; CHAKRAVARTI, Tantras, p. 75. It polemizes against BRAHMĀNANDA's Vāmācārasiddhāntasamgraha.

³⁴ NCC, V, p. 112; there are other tracts of this title, by KṚṢṆĀNANDĀCALA (composed in A.D. 1854; ed. Varanasi A.D. 1864–65), and by MUKUNDALĀLA.

³⁵ It received BURNOUR's attention; he translated it into French in the preface to his ed. of the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, Paris 1840, p. LXXIX–LXXXIX. Cf. also NCC, IV, p. 130f.

³⁶ RASB No. 6454 and 6455; NCC, IV, p. 131.

by Kāśinātha are the Jñānārṇavatānta (commentary Gūḍhārthadīpikā), the Mantramahodadhī (Padārthādarśa), the Yoginīhr̥daya (Cakrasaṃketacandrikā), and the Karpūrādīśtotra (Dīpikā).

The Dharmavitāna by Harilāla vindicates the authority of the Tantras. In the course of his argumentation, the author offers symbolical interpretations of “revolting” statements³⁷. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century Amara Maitra, another Bengali Brahman, wrote the Jñānadīpikā, the Amara-saṃgraha and the Amarisamhitā, and in this way contributed to the contemporary Tantric revival³⁸.

³⁷ RASB No. 6228; Cat., p. 406.

³⁸ On this writer, see BANERJĪ, *Tantra in Bengal*, p. 103.

PART II

SANJUKTA GUPTA

TANTRIC ŚĀKTA LITERATURE IN MODERN INDIAN LANGUAGES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

From the earliest period Tantric mystics have used lyrical poetry to praise the deity and to express their ecstatic experiences of the divine. Naturally they have been inspired to pour out their emotions in songs and ballads in their own vernacular language. As a result the best pieces of Tantric vernacular literature often bring out the living emotions of the poet much better than do their comparable Sanskrit counterparts. Though the vernacular poets adhere to the Sanskrit literary traditions, released from the formal structure of the Sanskrit language they express subtler nuances of emotion and religious experience. Thus they have produced a livelier and more sensuous literature in vernacular than they could in Sanskrit. This spontaneous literature brings to light a very important aspect of Tantric religion and is therefore of great interest to a student of the history of religion. Tantric literature of this inspiration differs radically from that written in Sanskrit. The Sanskrit Tantras are treatises which attempt to systematize the ritual worship and meditation used by the Tantrics for winning the deity's favour, favour which culminates in the adept's experience of the divine in deep meditation, a type of experience which Eliade has called *enstasis*.¹ The Sanskrit Tantras, though meant for instruction, rarely elaborate on this ultimate experience. Even when they broach it—usually in frustratingly technical and symbolic language intelligible only to initiates—they only discuss stages on the way to it; but of its quality they rarely attempt to speak. That is not surprising, since the experience is beyond ordinary comprehension and transcends the realm of language, which describes the world shared by men. The type of Sanskrit Tantric literature which comes nearest to this vernacular Tantric literature is the great body of *stavas*, *stotras* and *māhātmyas*—prayers, hymns and ballads.

However, the Tantric poets did not entirely repress all impulses to communicate their beatific experience, and did try to express the inexpressible. To this

¹ MIRCEA ELIADE, *Yoga: Immortality and Freedom*, pp. 37, 171, 361. See also DIETRICH LANGEN, *Archaische Ekstase und Asiatische Meditation*, p. 47, 'Dieser auf der letzten Stufe des Yoga-wegs (*samādhi*) erreichte Zustand ist verschieden übersetzt worden: Enstase ... (Eliade), Einfaltung ... (Hauer), Trance ... (Monier-Williams), meditative absorption ... (H. Müller), Superconsciousness ... (S. Vivekananda), Ausgewogenheit ... (Wood).

purpose they used two patterns. On the first, the more indirect, the poets described the deity in mythological terms, detailing the specific god's or goddess's exploits. They dwelt on the deity's beauty and power, and their own all-consuming love for and total dependence on their God. They eulogized the deity's grandeur and prayed in abject submission.

Secondly, more daring, the mystic would try directly to communicate his experience. To do this he had to resort to traditional poetic imagery and to poetic paradox—a much practised form of communication amongst the exponents of mystic religions. For instance, often used is the image of a fragile boat manoeuvred upstream by a single boatman in bad weather, keeping its helm fixed in the direction of the goal. This expresses the difficult task a yogin has to steer his mind, steadfast through all distractions, keeping his attention fixed on the goal. Common also is the moralistic image of an innocent and harmless deer perpetually in danger of destruction because it is made of delectable flesh and so is its own worst enemy. This symbolizes the human being whose soul is prey to desires. Even commoner is erotic imagery—a device which claims both antiquity and universality. The mystic and the goal he aspires to—cosmic as well as transcendental union with the Absolute Reality—are conveyed by a series of relationships between lover and beloved. Sometimes erotic imagery is made more striking by being mixed with paradox. The mystic likens himself to a high-born individual who has gone mad and become corrupt and uncouth, who united with a partner equally grotesque enjoys an erotic dance in wild and hideous yet blissful abandon. Beauty and the grotesque are juxtaposed on equal terms to convey the transcendent.

Images from daily life naturally proliferate in a literature of which the hallmark is spontaneity. The complex play of emotion in a young wife living in her husband's joint family—her mute struggle with his relatives, her total lack of freedom, her desperation as the cook of an impoverished family which often unexpectedly swells at mealtimes—is a favourite theme for the mystic poet endeavouring to depict his own poignant helplessness on his spiritual journey. Other tensions in the daily transactions between kinsmen have also been extensively explored. The indignities and humiliations suffered by a poor relative at the hands of rich kinsmen; the revulsion felt by a mother at the sight of her son-in-law—poor, dependent, yet insufferably complacent and demanding—such images are used to express a yogin's indifferent attitude towards the existing social system and the exquisite repose achieved through disciplined meditation. To show the different dimensions of the Tantrics' personal world from the normal social life of attachment and self-consciousness in society, the image of an utterly indifferent person lay to hand. The unnatural and much distrusted *kāpālīka* and his natural habitat, the cremation ground, figure often in the Tantric poets' songs.

The extensive use of paradox and riddle to produce an effect of mystery was common to all mystic poets. Munidatta, the commentator on the Buddhist songs composed in early Bengali and Hindi, the Caryāpadas, explained this

special style as *sandhyā bhāṣā*,² an allusive language, twilight language or code language. The Sanskrit counterpart of this style of writing has been briefly discussed in the Hevajra Tantra.³ None of the Hindu Tantric texts contains a comparable treatment, though the style they use is the same as the Buddhist.

Before a detailed discussion of this literary genre, it seems to me important to mention the place these songs and ballads found in Tantric ritual. As in the public and private worship of the Śaivas and Vaiṣṇavas in South India vernacular lyric poetry (Tamil: *prabandham*)⁴ has an integral position, so too the Tantrics use their vernacular literature as an integral part of the ritual worship of their goddess in both its private and public forms. In Bengal and other parts of Northern India, ballads to the Goddess used to be ceremonially sung during her annual festival.⁵ In Kerala, songs to Kālī (*paṭṭu* and *toṭṭa*) are used as *mantras* during the ritual worship and till recently these songs were treated as a secret tradition.⁶ Nepalese Vajrayāna Buddhists still use their *caryā* and *dohā* songs in rituals and continue to regard them as esoteric like their *mantras* and other sacred literature.⁷ The last part of the worship of a deity consists of the worshipper singing hymns on the deity.⁸ Thus in the ritual context these songs replaced the Sanskrit *mantras*, *stavas*, *purāṇas* and *māhātmyas*, which used to occupy that final position.

But not all Tantric poetry is confined to a ritual context. All over India poet devotees, whether Tantric or not, have left behind a rich body of devotional songs on Tantric themes, the emotional appeal of which is still alive. These compositions stand on their own feet as poetry and music even if one disregards their religious relevance. To give but two examples: in South India, Muttusvāmī Dīkṣitar composed a vast number of songs in praise of the Goddess Kālī, Durgā, Tripurā; in Bengal, Rāmprasād Sen likewise composed songs to Kālī. Both these collections of songs enriched the general tradition of classical Indian music, and are as popular with non-Tantrics as with Tantrics.

In some religious sects ritual worship became minimal and yogic meditation and the singing of devotional hymns took its place. The various sub-sects of Bāuls and Sahajiyās, the Nātha yogins and Siddhas (to name but a few of these sects), greatly minimized the ritual part of *upāsana* and correspondingly increased the *stuti*. The poets of these sects have produced an enormous number of lyric songs which are mystic in nature and devotional in tone. Many of these

² For a detail discussion see S. B. DAS GUPTA, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 413–424; PER KVAERNE, *An Anthology of Buddhist Tantric Songs*, p. 37–60; and ZBAVITEL, *Bengali lit.*, p. 120ff.

³ Hevajra Tantra, I, p. 99–100; II, p. 60–62.

⁴ ZVELEBIL, in *Handbuch*, p. 130–165; K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, *Development ...*, p. 41–43.

⁵ SUKUMAR SEN, *Bāṅgla Sāhityer Itihās*, p. 186.

⁶ C. A. MENON, *Kali-worship in Kerala*, *passim*.

⁷ PER KVAERNE, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁸ Nityotsava, p. 57, 121, 143 and 151.

poems contain Tantric postulates even though the Goddess does not occur in them. The deity is often the undefined ineffable Reality abiding in all beings as the innate self. Although many of these sects follow the system of Tantra-yoga in their pattern of meditation, their lack of interest in the complicated Tantric form of ritual worship prompts their members to consider themselves non-Tantric. Of course one must hasten to add at this point that it is extremely difficult to decide what is Tantric and what is not. The general technique of Tantra Yoga became so diffused amongst the mystics of India that even Muslim mystics borrowed it and used its terminology in their mystic lyric songs. For instance Lālan Fakir of Bengal (18th century A.D.), a disciple of Sirāj Sāi, extensively used terms from Tantra Yoga in his songs, betraying his close acquaintance with it. (E.g. 'What beauty radiates from the two-petalled [lotus]; seeing this beauty my eyes become dazzled. This beautiful form surpasses the dazzling brightness of the jewel of the snake or of moonlight' etc.).⁹ But it can be safely said that most of these poets adhere to the faith in a cosmic Energy (Śakti) as an intrinsic aspect of the Supreme Divine—a conceptual concretization of this Divine's absolute dominance, knowledge and bliss.

For the specifically Śākta Tantric, on the other hand, Śakti is the Supreme Power, and though in theory the Supreme God is the locus of this power, Śakti representing His sovereignty (*svātantrya*), the worshipper regards Her as the active independent Power while the male supreme God recedes somewhat into the background. Independent Power really means the Goddess's indomitable power to achieve any goal. She executes the five divine acts, viz., creation, sustenance, destruction, punishing (*nigraha*) the ignorant and favouring (*anugraha*) her devotees. She is the cosmic dynamism, actuating creation, and she is the ultimate source of creation and creatures. She by her own free will evolves herself into phenomenal creation. She also has the indomitable power to destroy, if necessary, her own creation. In her creative aspect she is a benign, beautiful goddess, the cosmic mother; in her destructive aspect she is the dark and awesome goddess Kālī. Thus the same Goddess has come to represent supreme power in both its aspects, divine and demoniac, at its most benign and at its most terrible. In her benign aspect the Goddess is always the same: the daughter of Himālaya (the mountain range) and the wife of Śiva. In this form she is exquisitely beautiful and charming and her nature has no trace of the terrifying form. This aspect of the Goddess has generated many myths showing the sentiment of love in various forms—conjugal, maternal, filial. These stories have been handled imaginatively by numerous poets and mystics all over the sub-continent and throughout the medieval and modern periods. The cosmic parents

⁹ Lālan-gītikā (an anthology of the songs of Lālan Sāh Fakir) edited by Dr. MATILAL DAS and SRĪ PIJUSKANTI MAHAPATRA, song nr. 141, p. 96. *kibā rūper jhalak dicche dvidale | se rūp dekhle nayan yāy bhule || phanī-maṇi-saudāmini jini e rūp ujivale ||*; compare also the Tamil Siddha Songs: ZVELEBIL, The Poets of the Powers; and the same, Tamil Literature, p. 237–243.

are often depicted, both in literature and in the visual arts, as a divine family with one or two sons, Skanda and Gaṇeśa. Traditionally an Indian lady is referred to in discourse as the mother of her children (i.e. by a teknonym); accordingly the Goddess is often called 'mother of Skanda' or 'mother of Gaṇeśa'. This lovely image of domesticity serves the purpose of bringing the deity to the emotional level of reassuring intimacy with the adoring poet. Her awesomeness as indomitable power remains concealed from the poet's active imagination; only Her protective benevolence is glorified.

In Her terrifying form the Goddess has quite a different image from that of Umā, the daughter of Himālaya. The most familiar ferocious images of the Goddess are Durgā, Maḥiṣamardini (vanquisher of the Buffalo demon) and Kālī (the dark Goddess). Various mythological accounts of the birth of the terrible Goddess—be it Durgā or Kālī—represent Her as the essence of the divine power of destruction and death. Durgā in fact represents heroic power—the power to fight, conquer and punish the demons and the anti-gods. Kālī on the other hand personifies the unqualified power of destruction, supremely gruesome and grotesque. If Durgā or Caṇḍī (the Fierce), as She is often called, represents virtuous fury, Kālī represents simply fury unrestrained. Theoretically she is not accompanied by Śiva; only Her hosts accompany Her and She is surrounded by desolation. But theologically She is identified with Śiva's spouse, the cosmic Goddess. The fierceness of Her image did not hinder Her devotees from beginning in the 18th century to assimilate to Her all the benevolence of the Cosmic Goddess: "The happy One is in my heart; ever is she playing there. I meditate on thoughts that come to me, but never do I forget her name. Though both my eyes are closed, yet in my heart I see her, garlanded with heads of men."¹⁰

In the poet's imagination Her demoniac expression changes to an expression of fathomless compassion and tenderness. The gruesome and dishevelled figure of Kālī turns into a lovely woman with loose tresses framing Her figure. The poet declares that he adores the 'dark form, because Śyāmā (the dark Goddess) is the loose-haired charmer of the mind'. In this manner the devotee's mind effects a complete identity between the horrific, fierce, yet protective Goddess and the benign and bewitchingly lovely Cosmic Mother, the wife of Śiva, the Great God (*maheśvara*). To the devotee there is but one sovereign Goddess (*īśvari*). She possesses a bewildering variety of contradictory characteristics, but these very oppositions in Her help the devotee to realize Her transcendental supremacy and bliss.

As is to be expected, vernacular Tantric literature often reflects local cultural phenomena. The widespread Vaiṣṇava *bhakti* movement had its impact on this literature too, especially in areas like Bengal, Bihar and Orissa where during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Vaiṣṇavism became overwhelmingly popular. The Vaiṣṇava preoccupation with the youthful Kṛṣṇa and His divine

¹⁰ THOMPSON and SPENCER, Bengali Religious Lyrics, p. 48.

sports at Vṛndāvana strongly influenced the Tantric poet's imagination. The common Tantric image of the Goddess as Kumārī, the virgin Umā, the young daughter of Himālaya, inspired devotees to experience a love for the Goddess akin to that of a doting father for his daughter. Poets like Rāmprasād Sen have often described the deity as a loving little daughter, understanding, sympathetic and even almost docile to Her adoring devotee, as a daughter to her father, her power expressed in a manner more persuasive than coercive. As in the Vaiṣṇava literature, the Tantric poet's personal feelings towards his deity are expressed through the medium of mythological personalities of the divine family. The grief and anxiety of Menakā, Umā's mother, form the subject of many Bengali and Maithili hymns to the Goddess. The emotional turmoil of Menakā, the sorrows, worries and frustrations suffered by a helpless mother who longs for her sweet and beloved married daughter and yet is completely powerless to take any action suited the emotional state of the poet-devotee to perfection. The literary motif of separation of mother and child proved to be very fertile.

It is impossible to do justice to vernacular Tantric literature, even when only the theme of Śakti is selected, in a few pages. Firstly, because it is vast, for it has been composed over the last thousand years in every language of India and in many different genres. Secondly, because scholarship on this subject is still in its infancy, and in the literature of some languages Tantric material has not yet been collected, let alone analysed. Finally, because my own linguistic limitations force me to confine myself to a few languages, mostly North Indian, and to attempt only a preliminary survey of this type of literature. Since I am thus forced to make what must in any case appear an arbitrary selection and since I wanted to avoid just presenting a list of unavailable works most of which I myself could not examine, I concentrate on Bengali and handle it more exhaustively; while for other languages I give a few examples and try to convey their distinctive flavour, hoping that the part may give not too misleading an impression of the whole.

The main genres we shall find are these. First, the lyric poetry of mystical experience with which this introduction has been primarily concerned. Secondly, hymns of praise (*stuti*, *stava*, etc.) to the Goddess. Thirdly, lengthy ballads relating myths of the Goddess. Fourthly, drama, in the Sanskrit tradition. Finally yogic manuals. I have excluded scholarly works in vernacular, which began to be produced about a century ago and are still coming out, as falling outside the creative period of Tantric literature.

I deal most fully with Bengali for three reasons. Firstly, from the late medieval period Bengal became an important centre of Tantric activities and produced a vast corpus of literature. Secondly, this literature is available almost in full due to the excellent efforts of several scholars in the field. Finally, late seventeenth and early eighteenth century Bengal witnessed a revitalization of creative Hindu Tantrism which produced a sizable body of mystic hymns notable for its expression of emotional devotion (*bhakti*) towards the Goddess. This deserves special notice.

Mithilā (Tirhut), the land adjacent to Bengal, presents a similar situation. An ancient and influential Śākta Tantric tradition has existed in that country and continues even today. The royal court of Tirhut has been the greatest patron of Śākta Tantrism and Tantric literature. When the Muslim invasion forced the court to shift to within the territory of Nepal, the Śākta poets accompanied the court there and continued their literary activities in the Maithili language. Poets like Vidyāpati composed ballads and songs about the Goddess and the Maithili Tantric literature has certainly influenced Bengali Tantric literature. It seems that in both lands the local Hindu princes were of Śaiva and Śākta faith, and the poets of repute in both Mithilā and Bengal often enjoyed princely patronage. That is why in both lands this genre formed an important part of the official vernacular literature.

The same is to some extent true in other parts of India. But the Tantric literature written in Hindi, Rājasthānī and Panjābī has not yet been fully explored. All I can do in these languages is to show a few representative pieces in order to introduce the reader to these areas, which urgently need investigation.

In the South too there exists a rich body of Tantric Śākta literature. The Siddhas, the Kannaḱī/Pattinī cult, some Śaiva literature—all these genres have produced literature falling broadly within the Śākta Tantric category.¹¹ In Kerala the cult of Kālī has always been quite strong and also distinctive. One example of this distinctiveness is the existence of a group of hymns in Malayalam used just like *mantras* in the ritual worship of Kālī. These are called *toṭṭas* and *paṭṭus*.¹²

Several famous composers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries from Tamil Nadu, Karnataka and the Deccan plateau composed songs on Śākta Tantric themes. For example, the Navāvaraṇa Songs describe the mystic diagram (*cakra*) of the Goddess consisting of nine geometrical figures (*Śricakra*).¹³ But I have decided to leave the entire area of Western and Southern Indian literature on Śākta Tantric material to await future study.

The prototype of mystical Tantric literature is the group of songs known as the Caryā songs and Dohās. Although these are definitely non-Hindu Tantric songs, I must here give a very brief account of them. The reason is this. These early songs are claimed to be the oldest literary record of Hindi, Bengali and other Indo-Aryan languages of N.E. India. Not only have the literary forms and even metres of these songs influenced the later religious poems in Hindi, Bengali, Assamese and Oriya, but also the themes and motifs drawn from daily life are adopted by these vernacular literatures. Although predominantly Buddhist, some of the poets like Luipa¹⁴ possibly had close connection with Hindu

¹¹ ZVELEBIL, *The Poets of the Powers*, passim; *Tamil Literature*, Leiden, p. 111–17 and 135–37; *Tamil Literature*, Wiesbaden, p. 207–10; 132–34 and 190.

¹² See C. A. MENON, *Kali Worship in Kerala*.

¹³ See p. 58.

¹⁴ BAGCHI, *The Kaulajñānanirṇaya*, Introduction, see Part I, ch. II footnote 74.

Tantrism as well. These poems were primarily meant to be sung, and although containing a mystical message, they became very popular because of their simple diction and charming lyricism as well as their deep religiosity. The tradition was kept up in Hindi literature through the *dohās* of North Indian saints like Dādū, and Kabīr, and the Nātha sect.¹⁵

The religious and philosophical content of these early Tantric songs is very homogeneous and knows no sectarian boundaries. The essential feature, common to all Tantric denominations, is a disciplined path of spiritual endeavour which aims at personal perfection. The model Person is the Absolute, transcendent and immutable. This Person is innate (*sahaja*) in all beings, though all but forgotten by these beings and anyway beyond their awareness. The Tantric aspires directly to experience total identity with this Absolute Person; and yet this identification is not an absorption of the Tantric's self into the Absolute, in that most of the time he is conscious of the fact that the Absolute remains ineffable whereas the individual is subject to change and limitation. Moreover the awareness of this polarity in fact opens up an infinite number of possibilities in mystical experience. The polarity is symbolized by the relationship between man and woman and the love they share. Even after the experience of union, the Tantric in a mystical way retains a sense of separateness which allows him to experience *bhakti* or loving adoration for the Absolute. This realization of both identity and separateness combined produces in the individual an experience which is reposeful bliss and at the same time ecstatically joyous (*sahajānanda* or *mahāsukha* in Buddhist parlance, *ullāsa* in the Hindu). The Siddhas, i. e. the Tantric poets of the Caryā songs and the Buddhist Dohās, were yogins of the Buddhist Vajrayāna system. But they composed songs for an audience of ordinary people, using popular language and endeavouring to be clear and instructive. Legend claims that Saraha, a Siddha, composed a vast number of Dohās to make both ordinary people and royalty understand his religious ways and experiences. Concerning the deluded ways of ordinary people Saraha sings:¹⁶

- (A) Bees know that in flowers
Honey can be found.
That *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are not two
How will the deluded ever understand?
- (B) Mind, immaculate in its very being, can never be
Polluted by *saṃsāra*'s or *nirvāṇa*'s impurities.
A precious jewel deep in mud
Will not shine, though it has lustre.
- (C) Once in the realm that is full of joy
The seeing mind becomes enriched,
And thereby for this and that most useful; even when it runs
After objects it is not alienated from itself.

¹⁵ DAS GUPTA, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 211–255; 345–354.

¹⁶ H. V. GUENTHER, *The Royal Song of Saraha*, p. 7.

These prototypes of the later vernacular mystical songs and poems possessed meanings on different levels. Drawing similes from the ordinary objects of the everyday world, the poets often achieved aesthetic success. At the same time the real meaning underlying the pictorial description conveyed in symbolic language presents a different dimension of experience which appeals directly to those who have shared the poet's intimate religious experiences. Here is a poem addressed to an outcaste girl, who symbolizes Buddhist wisdom (*prajñā*), which is to realize that everything is without a changeless essence.

O Dombi, your hut is outside the town.
 The shaven Brāhmaṇas passing by keep on touching it.
 O Dombi, I shall cohabit with you.
 I am the shameless Kāpālīka Kāhna, the naked yogin.
 There is a lotus with sixty-four petals;
 The wonderful Dombi dances on that lotus.
 O Dombi, I ask you in confidence,
 On whose boat do you come and go?
 Dombi, you sell string and baskets.
 For your sake I have given up my actor's paraphernalia.
 O you are a Dombi and I am a Kāpālīka,
 For your sake I have put round my neck a bone-necklace.
 O Dombi, breaking the (dam of the) lake I shall feed you lotus stalks.
 O Dombi, I shall kill and take life.

The unclean Dombi, whose caste functions connect her with corpses and carrion, naturally lives outside the town, away from the pure castes. The poor Dombi lives in a hut, yet her charm attracts Brāhmaṇas, members of the purest caste, who defy the pollution caused by contact with her hut. Kāhna Yogin is himself born in a high caste, but has turned into a Kāpālīka, a naked member of a weird sect, indifferent to all social conventions, and he has no compunction in proposing to live with the impure Dombi. The utter impossibility of such a connection suggests a symbolism and makes it clear that the underlying meaning refers to some unconventional religious practices. The bliss of the two, viz. Kāhna and Dombi, in union is described in just two lines. The bewitching slender girl lightly dances on the lotus of sixty-four petals. The lover is mystified at her incomprehensible movements. The lotus is the highest level of Tantric yogic experience where the transcendental Dombi is occasionally intuited by fortunate yogins. The Dombi plies her caste trade in selling wicker baskets etc. But Kāhna has given up his job and has abandoned his basket containing the paraphernalia of a professional actor. Instead he now indulges in such crazy acts as breaking down a dam to collect lotus stalks for the Dombi, and is not averse even to killing. These last two enigmatic lines really refer to esoteric Tantric notions and technical terms. But outwardly they appear to refer to the fact that association with Dombi has destroyed all brahmanic convention in Kāhna, and he now behaves as thoughtlessly and aggressively as one expects from the male members of Dombi's caste. Even his taste has changed, and he feels no aversion to wearing unclean ornaments like a bone-necklace. This

last object too has a different technical meaning in the Buddhist Tantric tradition.¹⁷

Thus this song presents a series of pictures from a pretty Dombi girl's life in juxtaposition with her high caste, uninhibited and repulsive yogin-lover to convey a mystical message fully understood only by adepts. Only a fellow Tantric can understand the quintessential description of Kāhna Yogin's own yogic efforts and religious experience.

These songs are mostly sung to set melodies. But we are not sure who composed the music; possibly the poets themselves did. Parallels can be drawn from comparatively recent composers—poets like Tyāgarāja, Śamaśāstri, Dikṣitar and Rāmprasād Sen. The other possibility is that professional composers set their poems to music; the Maithili musicologist Locana records that a famous composer set the text of the great poet Vidyāpati of Mithilā to music.¹⁸

¹⁷ Munidatta, the commentator, has explained all these symbols in the Sanskrit commentary on this song; see PER KVAERNE, p. 113–117.

¹⁸ Locana Śarmā of c. 17th century A.D. wrote a music treatise, Rāgataranginī. In this text he records that Jayata, a hereditary musician, was employed by king Śiva Siṃha Deva to set to music the texts of Vidyāpati.

CHAPTER II

TANTRIC LITERATURE IN BENGALI

For historical reasons Bengali Śākta literary genres can best be arranged in this order: (1) ballads; (2) hymns and mystic poems; (3) technical treatises.

It is strange that the Caryā songs had no immediate successor in Bengali religious literature. Their genre somehow fell out of fashion, while the model of epic narrative poetry (*purāṇa*) induced the vernacular poets to write long narrative poems in ballad style. The popularity of narrative poetry is reflected in the fact that around the fourteenth century the Mahābhārata, the Rāmāyaṇa and several Purāṇas were translated or rather rendered into Bengali. This made the vast mythological material of the Epics and Purāṇas available to vernacular poets, and their audience too was now familiar with this type of literature. This *purāṇa* style combined with the popular ballad form of poetry to produce the new genre of mythological literature in the vernacular known as *maṅgala* (auspicious ballads).

By ancient tradition, dramatic performances accompanied the celebration of a god's annual festival.¹ Sections of certain Sanskrit *purāṇas*, such as the Devī Purāṇa and the Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa, were similarly recited in such annual rituals: for instance, the Devīmāhātmya section of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa is always recited at the end of the *pūjā* on each of the three days of the annual festival of Durgā. A related custom was that in the ritual worship of local deities old ballads were sung, especially at the end. These two customs, the Sanskritic and the non-Sanskritic, fused in the composition and ritual use of *maṅgalas*.

Maṅgalas were part recited and part sung by professionals in the ritual worship of the deities about whom they were composed. Locana (op. cit.) tells us that a certain Bhavabhūti obtained perfection in poetic skill through divine grace and composed a poem on the model of a *purāṇa* (*kāvyaṃ purāṇapratīmaṃ cakāra*). Another example of Sanskritic influence is that each *maṅgala* begins with an account of the cosmogony in which the deity it is composed to honour plays a major role. This pattern was applied, for example, in the Manasā-maṅgala.² The snake goddess Manasā, a non-purāṇic deity, became the centre

¹ Abhinavagupta, Abhinava-bhāratī on Nāṭyaśāstra V.

² In the Dharma Maṅgala, Dharma, the Absolute ineffable God, is the supreme creator and his cosmic spouse is Ketakā, the Original Goddess (Ādyā Devī). But the cosmogonic section of the Manasā Maṅgala is really only concerned with the birth of Manasā.

of an important cult which at one time flourished over much of Northern and Eastern India. In the fifteenth century some redactor or redactors with Sanskrit education assembled the ballads, hymns and legends which had grown up around her into the *Manasāmaṅgala*. This text is ceremonially sung for the four nights of *Manasā's pūjā*. Similarly, the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* is sung for the four days of that goddess's annual festival, and the *Dharmamaṅgala* is sung during the twelve days of the annual festival of Dharma.³ The recitation of a *maṅgala* is preceded by a special preliminary rite. Naturally this ritual application influenced the structure of these texts. Every *maṅgala* is usually divided into more or less equal parts, matching in number the days of the *pūjā* of the relevant deity. Each of these parts is called a section in sequence (*pālā*). Every *maṅgala* contains near the end a summary recapitulation of its story. The major narratives are in simple metres which are easy to chant; this is then frequently enlivened by the addition of short poems which are sung to melodies as hymns. The later versions of *maṅgalas* often indicate the melodies of the songs, and the text becomes virtually a collection of hymns.⁴

Although there are several *maṅgalas* on important cult deities, only the *maṅgala* texts on the goddesses *Caṇḍī/Durgā* and *Kālī/Annadā* are of interest to us. It is interesting to note that although the redactors of these *maṅgalas* theologically maintained that all these goddesses are different names of the same Goddess (cf. the *cautiśā* hymn sung by *Kālaketu* in the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* of *Mukundarāma* to propitiate the goddess *Caṇḍī*), yet the contents of these two sets of *maṅgalas*, viz. the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* and *Annadāmaṅgala*, are quite different. Moreover the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* texts are older than those of the *Annadā* or *Kālikāmaṅgala*. On the other hand, there is no problem about the identity of the goddess *Annadā/Kālikā*, whereas *Caṇḍī's* identity is rather complex. The two narratives recounted in the *maṅgalas* to *Caṇḍī* to establish her greatness (*māhātmya*) in bringing unprecedented luck (*maṅgala*) and giving protection (*abhaya*) to her devotees present her as the goddess of the wild beasts in forests and domestic animals in pastures, the goddess of the forest and pasture. *Sukumar Sen* traces her origin to the *R̥gvedic* goddess *Aranyānī*.⁵ However, the deity of the *Caṇḍīmaṅgala* is certainly identical with *Durgā*, who destroyed the Buffalo demon and who also is *Umā*, *Śiva's* spouse. The two narratives, curiously enough, describe the Goddess in a disadvantageous position. In the first narrative the deity is determined to show her capacity to bring prosperity and power not only to likely candidates such as the king of *Kaliṅga* but also to a most unlikely candidate, *Kālaketu*, a wretchedly poor person of humble origin whose only livelihood is to hunt wild animals and sell the meat in the market. Why such a prestigious goddess as *Durgā* should need to make a show of her great power is not very clear. In the second narrative she seems to be more logical

³ S. SEN, *Bāṃglā Sāhityer Itihās* II, p. 144.

⁴ See *Abhayāmaṅgala*.

⁵ S. SEN, *op. cit.*, p. 503.

in her actions, if one believes that among the rich and socially influential trading community of Bengal the worship of Śakti, the Divine Sovereign Power, was not very popular and needed more recognition. In the Tantric Śākta tradition Śakti, who is mainly conceived as the Divine partner of Śiva, is completely identified with Śrī, the goddess of prosperity. This is evident in the Śaiva Śākta Śrī cult, in which Śakti is worshipped in a diagram called the diagram of Śrī (Śrīyantra or Śricakra). In the *maṅgala* texts Durgā is indeed called Maṅgalā, or the one who brings prosperity and is benign (*abhaya*).

However, the assimilation of Caṇḍī of the Caṇḍimaṅgalas to the Purāṇic goddess Durgā was complete by the end of the middle ages and is accepted by the Sanskrit tradition. The Sanskrit Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa (15th or 16th century) attaches the stories of the Caṇḍimaṅgala to the goddess Durgā or Devī (the Goddess).

You who are the fake salamander who gave Kālaketu the boons,
You are the embodiment of good luck and are called Maṅgalacaṇḍī.
From the hands of king Śālivāhana you saved the father and son,
O lotus-born, while you presented yourself as swallowing and
regurgitating elephants.⁶

In some Caṇḍī images the salamander is present. The salamander plays an important role in the first story of the Caṇḍimaṅgala, in which the goddess comes to the hero Kālaketu's house in the guise of a salamander. She is usually envisaged as seated on a red lotus and possessing four arms and hands. Her complexion is red. A sketch of an ancient image of the goddess (from the period of the Bengali king Lakṣmaṇa Sen) shows two elephants pouring water on the image (S. Sen, appendix). This again reminds one of the goddess's connection with Lakṣmī (i.e. Gajalakṣmī)⁷. The twin elephants are connected with the goddess Caṇḍī in the second story of the *maṅgalas*. Halāyudha (twelfth century) in his Brāhmaṇa-sarvasva describes the *dhyāna* and ritual worship of Maṅgalacaṇḍī.

The extant *maṅgalas* of Caṇḍī are not very old. The oldest goes back to the sixteenth century of the Christian era. But the tradition goes back much further, though it is difficult to know just how far.

The biographer of Caitanya, Vṛndāvana Dāsa (the Caitanya Bhāgavata), makes it clear that in his time (c. middle of the sixteenth century) the singing of the ballads of Maṅgalacaṇḍī was very popular⁸. Indeed Mānik Datta, the earliest known author of the Caṇḍimaṅgala, must have flourished before then. It seems possible that the worship of the goddess Caṇḍī became so popular at that period (cf. Vṛndāvana Dāsa 1/8), that talented and educated poets of Śākta faith began composing long ballads on the basis of older ballads and legends on Maṅgalacaṇḍī. Each work, though essentially telling the same stories, pos-

⁶ Bṛhaddharma Purāṇa, quoted by S. SEN, op. cit., p. 507.

⁷ Cf. T. A. GOPINATH RAO, Hindu Iconography I, p. 373.

⁸ Op. cit., I.2; II.13.

sesses distinctive marks of the poet's personality. The oldest extant Caṇḍi-maṅgala is that of Dviija Mādhava (1579)⁹ and is called the Sāradāmaṅgala.

The most popular and beautiful work of the CM is that of Kavikankan Mukundarām Cakravartī, a learned *brāhmaṇa* from the neighbourhood of Burdwan. He had to leave his home under adverse circumstances and move to Midnapore. There he obtained royal patronage and composed a Caṇḍi-maṅgala (A.D. 1590) which he called the Abhayāmaṅgala. He was a talented poet with refined taste and made many improvements on the original legends. He displayed real ingenuity in coordinating the two rather discordant legends of the Caṇḍi-maṅgala. The charm of the poem is much enhanced by short devotional songs added at appropriate places.

Amongst the other Caṇḍi-maṅgala authors mention should be made of Dviija Rāmadev, Kṛṣṇarām Dās, Muktārām Sen and Rāmānanda Yati.

Like all *maṅgala* texts, a Caṇḍi-maṅgala starts with short laudatory hymns to different gods. After that a short account of creation is given. This account agrees with that given in two other major kinds of *maṅgala*, Dharmamaṅgala and Manasāmaṅgala. The ineffable and immutable Creator Dharma first creates the primal goddess Ādyāśakti and then the three cosmic gods Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Śiva. After that the rest of creation comes into existence.

After this cosmogony, the main body of the *maṅgala* text begins. This is divided into three parts, viz., Devī khaṇḍa or the section on the Goddess; Ākṣeṭi khaṇḍa or the section on the Ākṣeṭi¹⁰ hero; and Baṇik khaṇḍa or the section on the tradesman. The first section is usually short and describes the origin of the Goddess Durgā, her birth as Pārvatī and marriage to Śiva and their ensuing divine conjugal life. This section serves to link the two separate legends about the spread of the Goddess's worship among different sections of the population. For ritual purposes, as explained above, the text is divided into eight uneven parts called *pālā*, which do not correspond to the narrative boundaries. The recitation of the text used to be an intrinsic part of the annual worship of the goddess Maṅgalacaṇḍī. This took place for four days, starting on a Tuesday, and each section is meant for one half of a day's performance.

The story of Durgā mainly follows the Sanskrit Purāṇic tradition, although sometimes a certain demon Maṅgala replaces the Buffalo demon. Stories of Śiva's wife Satī, daughter of Dakṣa, and of her regenerated form Pārvatī, the daughter of Himālaya, appear more or less in the usual Purāṇic form till the birth of her two sons Gaṇeśa and Kārttikeya. But when the poets picture the conjugal life of the divine couple their imagination leads them to produce a vivid account of contemporary Bengali middle-class society at its poorest.

At this point both Śiva and Pārvatī lose their divine grandeur and serenity. Pārvatī is depicted as a typical spoilt, inconsiderate, indolent and rather sharp-

⁹ ZBAVITEL, p. 165; ASHUTOSH BHATTACHARYA, Bāṅglā . . . Itihās, 466ff.

¹⁰ *Ākṣeṭi* or *Ākṣeṭi* is the name of a certain hunting tribe living at the fringe of Hindu society.

tongued daughter of rich and influential parents. Śiva too is presented as a type character, a penniless *brāhmaṇa* sponging on his rich parents-in-law, indifferent to others' comforts, demanding and self-indulgent. The poets entertained their audience by giving a brilliant picture of the chaotic condition of Śiva's home-stead, with his impetuous sons and an incongruous collection of animals chosen as mounts for each member of the divine family. As soon as Pārvatī starts her independent household away from her parents, dire poverty and Śiva's lack of consideration lead to marital quarrels and matters grow serious. A harassed and vexed Pārvatī wails to her companion Padmā about her misfortune:

Father's snake and son's peacock perform antics.

Gaṇeśa's rat gnaws holes in the begging sack and I get the blame.

How can I prevent the natural enmity between the lion and the ox?

O poor me, how luckless I am!

The perpetual fight between the peacock and the snakes

Makes me a victim of abuse.

Since Śiva's income is both inadequate and irregular, Padmā advises the Goddess to replenish the family income by popularizing her own worship among mankind. Accordingly the goddess persuades her husband to put a curse on the younger son of the god Indra to be born as a man on earth in order to propagate her worship there.

Here starts the first legend. The Goddess sets a trap for Indra's pious son to incur Śiva's displeasure. He falls for it and is cursed. Meanwhile, the Goddess rewards the king of Kālīṅga with prosperity and in gratitude he starts worshipping her.

Indra's son takes birth in the house of a poor hunter as his son and is named Kālaketu. He grows up to be a skilled and powerful hunter, marries Phullarā and starts hunting for a living. He kills wild animals indiscriminately. The distressed animals approach the Goddess for redress. Pārvatī comes to Kālaketu in the guise of a salamander which he catches. Soon she changes into a beautiful young girl to beguile the hunter. Kālaketu and his wife are first puzzled and then grow angry and apprehensive. Finally the Goddess reveals her identity and with her favour Kālaketu becomes the king of a newly established kingdom called Gujarāt. Kālaketu and Phullarā become great devotees of Pārvatī. But Kālaketu comes into conflict with the king of Kālīṅga and is imprisoned. The latter intends to execute Kālaketu, who starts praying to the Goddess with a hymn. This hymn of praise to the deity¹¹ has the traditional Tantric pattern¹²: the initial letters of the lines are the consonants arranged in alphabetical order; but the first three nasals, *ṇ*, *ṇ̃* and *ṇ̄*, which do not begin any Bengali words, are replaced respectively by the three vowels *u*, *i* and *a*, because when reciting the alphabet they are named *uṇa*, *iṇa* and *aṇa*. Since there are reckoned to be 34 Bengali consonants (including *kṣa*) this type of hymn is called *cautiśā* ('of

¹¹ Mukundarām Cakravarti, Caṇḍimaṅgala, part I, p. 418–26.

¹² E.g. Pūrṇānanda, Kakārādi-kālī-sahasranāma.

thirty-four'). The authors of these hymns had in mind the cosmic form of the Goddess as unmanifested Sound (Śabdabrahman), the first manifestation of which is the alphabet (*varṇamālā*), the source of all *mantras* and also of the physical universe. Some poets like Dviḥ Rāmadev¹³ were more erudite in Tantric Śākta theology and knew the *mātrkā* concept of the Goddess, so they used only the vowels instead of the consonants. This indicates that Kālaketu prayed to the Goddess Śakti with the most essential of all *mantras* and obtained immediate fulfilment (*siddhi*). Indeed soon after this Kālaketu obtains once again Pārvatī's active favour: not only does he become free and regain all his possessions, but also all his dead army is restored to life. Thus having established the greatness of Śakti's power and influence, Kālaketu dies at a ripe age and Indra gets back his younger son. This is the end of the first legend about the Goddess, the Ākṣeṭi khaṇḍa.

The next story is about two rich merchants, Dhanapati and his son Śrīmanta. Merchants were at that time more devoted to Śiva than to Śakti. Therefore probably her devotees wanted to make this community accept the Goddess as the supreme deity who would confer safety and prosperity. A celestial dancer is cursed to be born on the earth. She takes birth as Khullanā, the daughter of a rich merchant called Lakṣapati and his wife Rambhā. When she comes of age, a famous merchant, Dhanapati, marries her as his second wife. Lahanā, her co-wife and cousin, is the mistress of Dhanapati's household and naturally she becomes angry and jealous at the second marriage. She harasses Khullanā and when Dhanapati is away on a business trip forces her to become the family goatherd, the most menial job. While grazing the herd in the forest Khullanā loses one goat and, frightened of her co-wife's wrath, roams in the wilderness in search of it. There she encounters a small band of women, worshippers of Caṇḍī, who on listening to her story advise her to perform rites for the Goddess. Under their guidance Khullanā does so and obtains the Goddess's grace. Her goat comes back and Lahanā too becomes less hostile and relieves her of her goatherd's job. Dhanapati comes back home after a successful business trip and Khullanā is united with him. Soon Khullanā becomes pregnant and in the fifth month of her pregnancy her husband once again gets ready to go away to trade, this time abroad, to Ceylon. He gives Khullanā a written order that if a girl is born she is to be called Mahāmāyā. If a son is born, he is to be called Śrīmanta, and in case Dhanapati is delayed in Ceylon, he should at a suitable age go in search of his father. On the eve of his journey Dhanapati acts sacrilegiously to Caṇḍī's symbol (a jug full of water) while Khullanā is engaged in her worship, since, misled by Lahanā, he thinks Khullanā is engaged in witchcraft. This antagonizes the Goddess and as a result he meets with misfortune. While sailing to Ceylon he sees a miracle: a girl of sixteen seated on a lotus on the water, swallowing and immediately disgorging an elephant. The merchant tells this story at the court of the king of Ceylon. The king disbelieves it and wants to

¹³ DVIJA RĀMADEV, *Abhayāmaṅgala*, p. 104–6.

see for himself by going to that spot together with the merchant. But the girl is no longer there. The king throws the merchant into prison as a fraud and he languishes there. Time passes. Khullanā gives birth to a son, Śrīmanta, who is also no ordinary mortal being but a celestial entertainer of Śiva who, cursed for negligence, is now born on the earth. The boy Śrīmanta is insulted by his teacher over the absence of his father and is jeered at as a bastard. Śrīmanta's mother tells him the story of his father and his trip to Ceylon and shows him his father's written instructions. Śrīmanta immediately gets ready to go, and at the age of twelve, in spite of his mother's and the king's prohibition, sets sail for Ceylon. He too sees the miracle of the floating and elephant-swallowing girl. Events then take the same course for him as they did for his father, and father and son are united in prison. Śrīmanta abjectly worships and prays to Caṇḍī and meditates using the same form of acrostic hymn, *cautiśā*, as did Kālaketu in a similar situation. Pleased, the Goddess comes to their rescue. The king of Ceylon is suitably punished and intimidated; contrite, he releases Dhana-pati, Śrīmanta and the crew, and returns all their treasures and merchandise. Not only that: at Caṇḍī's bidding the king gives his daughter, Suśilā, to Śrīmanta in marriage. At last Śrīmanta returns home with his father and wife. The local king is so impressed by Śrīmanta's prowess that he too gives his daughter to Śrīmanta in marriage and so Khullanā welcomes not only her husband and son but also two daughters-in-law.

The two legends have several points in common as well as some repetition of individual religious themes. In both we get a song of twelve months (*bāramāsyā*)¹⁴. Kālaketu's salamander changes into a richly decorated beautiful woman. Phullarā coming home sees her there while her husband is absent. Convinced that her husband has taken a mistress, Phullarā becomes scared of losing her husband's affection and tries to dissuade her rival by vividly recounting her poverty. Each month of the year brings new misery to crush the poor family. Suśilā, the princess of Ceylon, also sings a *bāramāsyā* when her husband proposes to return home, telling her mother how her future life will be an unrelieved tale of misery, each month of the year bringing a fresh misfortune. In both, the heroes are imprisoned and on the verge of death at the hands of the enemy and in the darkest moment of life they pray and meditate on the Goddess, throwing themselves on her mercy, and she immediately arrives to save them. This indicates how the concept of *bhakti*, which emphasizes the saviour aspect of the divine, that had in turn developed into the idea of *prapatti*, abject surrender of the devotee to the Divine mercy and protection, came to be recognized even by the Śākta groups. The theory of *prapatti*, a specific South Indian contribution to Hinduism, had travelled to the North mainly through the spread of Vaiṣṇava theology. The normal Śākta emphasis on *pūjā* and *upāsana* is abandoned in the above-mentioned emergencies.

¹⁴ CHARLOTTE VAUDEVILLE, *Bārahmāsā*; see the author's introduction.

It is also interesting to note how Caṇḍī, who is definitely Durgā, when she appears for the punishing of the enemies of Her special devotee resembles Kālī more than she does Durgā, and is surrounded by a grotesque host who are usually followers of Kālī. Thus Kālī, the goddess of Death, first merges into Durgā and through her into Pārvatī, the cosmic Mother. This synthesis of different goddesses converging in one Śakti ideal who as Mother can be brought into a close emotional relationship was convenient for incorporating devotionism into the Śākta Tantric religion. The influence of Vaiṣṇava religion and religious literature is decisive in moulding the religious attitude of late Śākta Tantrics. The authors of the Caṇḍimaṅgalas added songs with clear Vaiṣṇava themes whenever they needed to express tender emotions. This may be the direct channel through which Vaiṣṇava emotional *bhakti* and its medium of expression in Bengal, viz., Vaiṣṇava lyrics, found their way to the Śākta Tantric poets of a century later. By that time the literary form had become a poetic tradition and could be utilized by any poet, like the writers of the Śākta, *mālsī* songs and the purely *bhakti* songs of the Śāktapadāvalī.¹⁵

The Kālikāmaṅgalas as a genre are of late origin. Although Tantrism was practised in Bengal from at least the beginning of the fourteenth century¹⁶ and great Tantrics like Sarvānanda (c. 1580) and Kṛṣṇānanda Āgamavāgiśa (c. 1500) composed important Sanskrit tracts on Tantric ritual and theology, nothing was written on Kālī in the vernacular. But in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries several poets, both Tantric and non-Tantric, wrote versions of the Kālikāmaṅgala. The earliest of them is Kṛṣṇarām Dās, who lived near Calcutta. The succeeding authors are Balarām Cakravartī, Govinda Dās, Bhāratcandra Rāy (eighteenth century) and Rāmprasād Sen. The work of Bhāratcandra is called Annadāmaṅgala and emphasizes Pārvatī's Annapūrṇā (bestower of grain) aspect; it was written at the order of the poet's patron Kṛṣṇacandra, the king of Navadvīpa. The poet was not a Śākta Tantric. He actually adds a new legend to the story of Pārvatī to connect her to his patron king, who was by all accounts an enthusiastic devotee of Kālī.

In general the Kālikāmaṅgalas follow the pattern of the Caṇḍimaṅgalas. But there is only one legend peculiar to the Kālikāmaṅgalas, and it is quite different from the two in the Caṇḍimaṅgalas. It is about the clandestine love of a princess and a foreign visitor to her land. The dominant deity here is Kālī, who appears as the bestower of magic power to aid thieves and bandits. It seems that such criminals used to propitiate Kālī with proper Tantric rites.¹⁷

The story as it now stands resembles a story prevalent in the Deccan plateau and North-west India, and at a certain point was connected with the Kashmiri

¹⁵ *Mālsī* songs are songs about Pārvatī seen in intimate domestic light as daughter of Himālaya and Menakā, wife of Śiva and mother of Skanda and Gaṇeśa. These and the *padāvalis* or *bhakti* songs on Kālī are described later in this chapter.

¹⁶ See S. C. BANERJĪ, *Tantra in Bengal*, pp. 74–78.

¹⁷ S. C. BANERJĪ, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

poet Bilhaṇa, author of the *Caurapañcāśikā*. In that context the princess's love affair is with a foreign poet, who while staying at the court accidentally sees her, falls in love with her and marries her in secret. But in the end the poet is caught, and he is about to be executed when through the Goddess's blessing he utters such bewitching poetry that the king succumbs to aesthetic enjoyment and pardons him. Needless to say, the clandestine marriage too was made possible by the Goddess's magic power.

In the *Kālikāmaṅgala*, the heroine and hero are respectively called *Vidyā* and *Sundara*. The names suggest that the story may have been based on an allegory depicting the fact that in human society men eagerly pursue *vidyā*—knowledge, whether conceptualized as scientific skill or as magic and hence miraculous power—while women seek the beautiful, *sundara*. The story is both secular and sophisticated, and lacks the gothic flavour of the stories of the *Caṇḍimaṅgala*. Yet the poets of the *Kālikāmaṅgala* tried to maintain the outward form of the *maṅgala* poems. There is the usual cosmogony, and stories of *Pārvatī*—her former existence as *Satī*, *Satī*'s death, *Pārvatī*'s marriage to *Śiva*, etc.—are faithfully repeated. The basic theme of divine interference in ordinary life in order to popularize the worship of a particular form of the Goddess—here *Kālī*—is also present. Individual motifs like the heroine's description of her plight round the year (*bāramāsyā*) and the all-important hymn of praise to the goddess delivered by the hero at the point of climax in abject surrender to the Goddess's mercy are features which follow the *maṅgala* tradition. But the story itself is more like a literary romance than an old folk-legend. Nor is any special ritual occasion associated with the *Kālikāmaṅgala* or its recitation.

The story runs thus. *Sundara* and *Vidyā* are both actually celestial beings and are born on this planet to propagate the Goddess's popularity. *Vidyā* has been born as the princess of *Vardhamāna* and grows up an extremely beautiful and accomplished young woman. Her father is very concerned to find for her a husband of even greater learning and accomplishments. *Sundara*, a learned and very handsome prince, the son of one of *Vidyā*'s father's esteemed royal friends, is chosen as *Vidyā*'s husband, and her father sends a message to *Sundara*'s father. Meanwhile *Sundara* hears about *Vidyā* and determines to marry her. He is a Tantric and a devotee of *Kālī*, the goddess of magic power (*vidyā*), and his natural talent is enhanced to a miraculous level by Her favour. The adventurous prince starts on his quest in disguise and rides from his home in secret. Through the favour of the Goddess a journey which would otherwise have been long and strenuous is miraculously rendered easy and comfortable. *Sundara* arrives in the town where *Vidyā* lives and finds a go-between in a woman gardener who supplies flowers to the royal family. By her aid *Vidyā* and *Sundara* meet, and *Vidyā* falls in love with *Sundara* at the first sight of his handsome form. After their introduction she is also impressed by his learning and poetic ability. This last quality *Sundara* has acquired through Tantric *sā-dhanā*, which has brought him the favour of *Kālī*, his chosen deity. Soon after

their first meeting they secretly marry, and in due course Vidyā becomes pregnant. Her parents are very upset as they know nothing of Sundara, who remains in hiding. However, through his clever town sheriff Vidyā's father finds him, and he orders his execution. At the crucial moment Sundara prays abjectly to Kālī for mercy and protection. Kālī responds: she appears in her terrible form and threatens the king. At this point a friend reveals Sundara's identity and the intimidated king is vastly relieved. He relents, releases Sundara and accepts him as his son-in-law. Sundara stays for some years and then returns home with his wife and son to rule his own country and to propagate Kālī's worship among his people. Finally, his mission accomplished, Sundara and his wife ascend to heaven.

It is obvious that this is not an ancient legend. The very name of the heroine recalls the Tantric science of the preter-natural, and the story makes its hero an adept of the lore. Not only does he obtain his great poetic capacity through *sādhana*, but also when he wants to dig a tunnel from the gardener's house to Vidyā's bedchamber he gets a magically empowered tool from the Goddess with a *mantra* to galvanize it, and thus succeeds in his aspiration. Both poetic ability and the power to overcome physical obstacles are well known as *siddhis*, supernatural accomplishments obtainable through Tantric *sādhana*.¹⁸

By the end of the seventeenth century *maṅgalas* were becoming rather strained, artificial creations, and gradually they went out of literary vogue. In the eighteenth century the lyric poems (*pada*) of the great Vaiṣṇava poets became overwhelmingly influential in Bengal. Among Tantrics too, devotional songs about the Goddess took the place of ballads as the preferred literary genre, and these songs were eagerly accepted by the common people. The leading figure in the new movement was the Tantric poet Rāmprasād Sen.

Rāmprasād Sen (c. 1720–81) was a Śākta Tantric and an adept in Tantra-yoga, the Tantric system of meditation.¹⁹ Following tradition, he composed a ballad on Kālī, his chosen Goddess (*iṣṭadevatā*), called the Kālī-kīrtana, on the usual pattern of the *maṅgalas*. But it is second-rate poetry. His main achievement was to introduce a new style into Śākta poetic literature. He revived the early lyric tradition of the Caryā songs and combined it with Vaiṣṇava emotional *bhakti* and their doctrine of grace. This innovation went straight to the heart of the masses. Rāmprasād himself composed countless short hymns in this *pada* form and innumerable poet *sādhakas* (Tantric adepts) have been following in his footsteps ever since. To be fair, one must agree with D. Zbavitel²⁰ that, although they reflect the influence of contemporary Bengali Vaiṣṇava lyrics, most of these poems display little literary quality. Rāmprasād Sen and other Śākta poets primarily wanted to express their religious experiences, which differed fundamentally from the Vaiṣṇava experience of the Bengal of their

¹⁸ See Saundaryalaharī, ed. N.S. VENKATĀNĀTHĀCĀRYA, p. 216 and 248.

¹⁹ GUPTA, HOENS and GOUDRIAAN, HT, p. 163ff.

²⁰ ZBAVITEL, Beng. Lit., p. 203.

times. Vaiṣṇavas gradually built up an aesthetic religion which drew on the classical literary aesthetics propounded by Abhinavagupta.²¹ Such a development was slow to come in Śākta Tantrism. Hence the Tantric poet had to curb his poetic imagination to remain loyal to his religious doctrine. The Tantric path of the *sādhaka* is rather a grim method of religious development. The Tantric way of life is, by Tantric definition, a life of tension and contradiction—*vāma-mārga*, i. e. the perverse path, the unfriendly way. The joy and ecstasy of Tantric religious experience are more rugged than tender. So it was difficult to introduce into the Tantric ideal the Vaiṣṇava ideology of tender *bhakti* and the divine's spontaneous grace; and even more difficult was it to conceive of a relationship conducive to the tender emotion of *bhakti* with a goddess like Durgā, the belligerent warrior goddess of power, or like Kālī, the terrifying goddess of death and destruction. On the other hand, those are the two forms of the Goddess most commonly present to the Bengali mind. Nevertheless, by the end of the 17th century the doctrine of tender *bhakti* became influential enough in the Eastern region of India²² to give a new flavour even to the non-Vaiṣṇava religions. This produced among the Tantrics the literary genre of Śākta lyric poetry (*śāktapadāvali*).

The poems of this type can be divided into two categories: 1) *sādhanā* songs, which primarily describe the poet's experiences during his own Tantric practice or deal with different aspects of Tantric ideology, including the poet's personal views on life and religion; 2) *lilā* songs, which depict the Goddess in myth as Umā, on the one hand the beloved daughter of Himālaya and Menakā and on the other the wife and partner of the cosmic god Śiva. The two categories, however, often overlap, in that the *lilā* songs are in fact symbolic expressions of the *sādhaka*'s emotional involvement with the Goddess, his chosen deity.

The *lilā* songs tend to show more Vaiṣṇava influence than do the *sādhanā* songs, because in them the Tantric poet could introduce the new theme of tender *bhakti* more freely than he could in the latter, which stood in a tradition going back to the Caryā songs. Seen as a daughter or as a submissive wife, the Goddess no longer seems majestically remote but much more approachable, and this paves the way for a more intimate relationship between Her and Her devotee.

These songs are commonly known as *āgamanī* and *viṣayā* songs. The two groups respectively treat of the Goddess's arrival at and departure from Her divine parents' home, events which mark the opening and closing dates of Her annual festival in the autumn. In these songs She is always seen as Umā, the young wife of Śiva, the yogin and world renouncer, and consequently subject

²¹ UMĀ RAY, Gaudīya Vaiṣṇaviya Raser Alaukikatva, p. 95ff.

²² Actually this vast region covers present-day W. Bengal, Bangladesh, Assam, Bihar, and parts of Orissa and Nepal. See S.B. DAS GUPTA, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 7. also, S.B. DAS GUPTA *Bhārater Śāktisādhanā o Śākta Sāhitya*, pp. 206–278.

to extreme poverty. For Her royal parents this is a source of constant pain. Compared with their own affluence their daughter's wretchedly poor household seems an unbearable place to live. The autumnal Durgā festival is for Bengalis the time for family reunion and happiness, and it is envisaged that Umā too then pays her parents a visit. The festival starts on the sixth day of the "bright" fortnight (fortnight of the waxing moon) at the beginning of autumn and ends four days later; thus the tenth day of that fortnight is when the Goddess returns from Her parents' to Her husband's home. The rites on that final day are called *viṣayā*, and in this context the word is considered to denote the Goddess's leave-taking.²³ Her devotees bid Her farewell and she supposedly takes leave of Her parents. The desperate wait of Menakā, Umā's mother, for the whole year, her boundless joy at receiving her only daughter at the advent of the festive season, her anxiety for Umā's well-being, her pang at the separation and her reluctance to let Umā go back to Her poor and inconsiderate husband—all these highly emotional motifs are incorporated in the *līlā* songs. Obviously, these songs are permeated by the emotion of maternal love. Superficially this resembles the anxious, protective and yet helpless love of Yaśodā for her baby Kṛṣṇa; it looks as if the Tantric poets have unoriginally exploited the Vaiṣṇava source. But a close scrutiny reveals a difference. Here the maternal love is depicted not only in its anxious protectiveness, but also in combination with the emotion of love in separation, an element most important for expressing the religious feelings of the devotee. In the middle-class society of contemporary Bengal, a young married daughter was totally out of reach of her mother. A housewife was effectively shut off from the outside world. Neither mother nor daughter could go out alone to visit the other, even when they lived nearby. The mother's isolation served as an excellent metaphor for the isolation of the individual from his beloved God. When the Mother-goddess is conceived to guard her devotees with unwavering protective love, Her majestic and indomitable divine power affords them a sense of solace and security, but tends not to arouse vivid religious sentiments: with such a figure the poet finds it hard to establish a reciprocal relationship. Moreover, in the 17th and 18th centuries ethical convention made it impossible for a poet-devotee to indicate his feelings for the Goddess by using erotic motifs. Nevertheless, the poets felt a strong urge to reciprocate the Goddess's love by actively serving and protecting Her. They could do so by conceiving Her not as the majestic Power of Kālī or Durgā but as the very young Umā, a paragon of dutiful and submissive womanhood. Imagining Her as a charming young wife, the poet could actively adore his Goddess and give vivid expression to the joy of his religious experiences.

There are many legends current in Bengal and elsewhere of how the Goddess appears as a young daughter to Her devotees. It is said that Rāmprasād Sen

²³ *Viṣayā* normally means "victory" or "victorious" and relates to the old Indian custom that in autumn warrior princes march out for conquests. To worship Durgā, the war goddess, when setting out for war would be appropriate.

The ecstatic pleasure of Her mother at Umā's short, rare visits expresses the joy of love in union:

Says Kavirañjana Dāsa in tender tones: whoever else has known a
day so fortunate?²⁴

But again it occurs to me, why should I blame Abhayā? It is the father's fault if the daughter is hard."

Although Rāmprasād Sen practically started the genre of Bengali Śākta lyric poetry, *āgamani* and *viṣayā* songs mainly flourished in the hands of poets who

²⁵ ARUN KUMAR BASU, Śaktigīti Padāvalī, p. 259.

came after him. He himself wrote mostly *sādhana* songs. He composed a great number of them and dealt with various themes of religious consciousness. He even tried to describe in simple terms complicated Tantric practices such as *śavasādhana* and *kuṇḍalinī yoga*.²⁶ Like the poets of the Caryā songs, he drew his similes and metaphors from the familiar life of the village. Agriculture and boating, rivers and the dark and dangerous ocean provide motifs for the songs. On the value of concentrating in meditation on Kālī he writes:

My mind, you don't know how to cultivate.
So fertile a field as human existence you have kept fallow;
If cultivated, it would have yielded gold.
Fence it in the name of Kālī;
Nobody will succeed in swindling you.
That fence of the dishevelled lady is very hard, O my mind;
Death dare not come near it;
Even in a hundred years it will not be confiscated.
Now knowing it your personal property
Harvest it completely.
My preceptor has sown the seed;
Please irrigate it with the water of devotion.
O my mind, if you feel lonely and inadequate,
Please call Rāmprasād to be your partner.

The fence is the method of introverting the mind ; the dishevelled lady is **Kālī**.²⁷
Another song uses the motif of diving for pearls in the sea:

Crying Kālī's name, plunge deep, my mind,
Down in the unfathomed shining sea of thy heart.
Never empty of gems is that sea, though diving once or twice thou **gainest** nought.
Conquer thy passionate heart, and plunge.
Make way to the very depths of the essential well that is thyself.
In the water of knowledge fruits the pearl of Śakti, my mind.
By devotion thou shalt obtain it, if thou keep the word of Śiva in memory.
Like crocodiles the six passions lurk, greedy for prey they wander ever.
Smear thy body with the turmeric of good conscience, the scent
will keep them far from thee.
Countless gems and jewels lie in those waters.²⁸

Tantric yoga is practised in conjunction with the appropriate devotional attitude. The fourth line refers to the yogic art of breath control (*prāṇāyāma*). The adept plunges into the depths of his mystical body, which contains six centres of concentration imagined to exist in a vertical line down the centre; the bottom centre is the usual locus of the Kuṇḍalinīśakti, where the individual self too exists, and it is here called the essential well.²⁹

He who practises Tantric methods of liberation treads a perilous path:

²⁶ SHIBAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, *Bhāratcandra o Rāmprasād*, p. 310.

27 Ibid.

²⁸ Transl. THOMPSON and SPENCER, p. 50.

²⁹ GUPTA et al., Index, p. 200, s.v.

Beware, beware, the boat is sinking!

Ah, my careless mind, the days are passing,
And thou hast not adored the spouse of Hara.

Thou hast weighed down thy boat with vain goods of thy traffic,
thy buying and selling.

All day thou hast waited at the quay and now with evening thou
wouldst cross the stream.

Thou hast made thine old boat heavy with sins.

If thou wouldst pass over the ocean of the world,

Make Śrīnātha thy helmsman.

Seeing the leaping waves the six boatmen have fled.

Mind, now trust thine all with thy preceptor, the Absolute (Brahman),

He will be thy helmsman.³⁰

Life is here seen as a great turbulent river, dangerous in the gathering darkness of the poet's advancing years, in which he has started his *sādhana*. But his guru Śrīnātha can ensure safe crossing. The foolish poet has filled up his boat, i.e. life, with useless heavy goods and failed to propitiate Kālī with proper adoration. Kālī is wife of Hara ("who takes all"), meaning that through Kālī's grace the poet might have got rid of his burden of sins. But his spiritual teacher can still save him, because his guru is the Absolute, i.e. the Absolute divine. In the last analysis, according to Tantric ideology, guru, deity and devotee are one.

Rāmprasād Sen and other Śākta poets of his period belonged to an age which witnessed an important change of religious attitude among Hindus, especially in and around Bengal. Very slowly the sectarian bigotry of the middle ages, which had been rife in this area, was being replaced by a religious syncretism in which the Godhead of one sect was not necessarily relegated to a position subordinate to the Godhead of another. In the two sects predominant in the Bengal of that time, Vaiṣṇava and Śākta, Kṛṣṇa occupied the highest position in the former, Kālī in the latter. These were two utterly different gods, whose only common characteristic was a dark (*śyāma*) complexion. But the playful Kṛṣṇa so imbued the social life of Bengal that almost every delicate emotion depended on a Kṛṣṇa theme for its expression, and contemporary religious literature reflects this phenomenon. This development of a common Bengali literary culture started in the 17th century and is expressed in the *maṅgala* literature, where Vaiṣṇava songs irrelevant to the plot are introduced to demonstrate delicate emotion.³¹

Rāmprasād boldly declared that there is no difference between Kālī and Kṛṣṇa; and by that he did not mean in the traditional way to indicate that Kālī as the highest Divinity subsumed every other divine being. He on the contrary emphasized the equal greatness of both deities:

O my mind, you are still deluded.

You remain engrossed in the reality of Śakti,

But you fail to discern in Hari and Hara One Reality.

³⁰ Trans. THOMPSON and SPENCER, p. 52.

³¹ E.g. Dviṇa Rāmdev, Abhayāmaṅgala, p. 140.

You have not grasped the essence of Vṛndāvana and sacred Kāśī.

Through your self-deception

You only go round the cycle of life.

You do not accept the identity between Yamunā and Gaṅgā.

You are unable to realize the meaning of Kṛṣṇa's flute, which is
the self, and thus cannot react properly.

Says Prasāda, under such confusion all your religious endeavours are in vain.

You differentiate between Śyāma and Śyāmā; hence, though you have
eyes, indeed you are blind.³²

The poet equates Vṛndāvana, where Kṛṣṇa lived and played, with Kāśī (Varanasi), a place blessed by Śiva's presence. The Yamunā is always associated with Kṛṣṇa, the Gaṅgā with Śiva, and yet the poet denies any difference in their religious value. For him Śyāma and Śyāmā, Kṛṣṇa and Kālī, are but the male and female forms of one and the same Dark (*śyāma*) God.

The overall sense of harmony achieved by Rāmprasād was maintained in the Tantric poems of his younger contemporaries. The need to press this point appeared to Śākta poets and spiritual people the more urgent since from the middle of the 18th century a new custom of worshipping Kālī publicly with great pomp provoked the Vaiṣṇavas and caused serious sectarian conflict between them and the Śāktas. The Tantric poet-philosophers tried to remove the cause of these conflicts by preaching the doctrine of one transcendent Personal Deity who is sometimes a woman, the Goddess, and sometimes a man (Puruṣa), Kṛṣṇa, Viṣṇu or Śiva. The new concept is clearly presented in a song by Kama-lākānta Bhaṭṭācārya, who lived in the last quarter of that century:

O my mind, don't you know that Kālī, the supreme source, is not just a girl?

Sometimes, adopting the colour of the clouds, She appears as a man.

Again, dishevelled, sword in hand, she frightens the sons of Danu.

Sometimes, descending in Braja, the same One steals the hearts of the milkmaids.

Sometimes, Her three *guṇas* in full display, She creates, sustains and destroys.

Voluntarily accepting the bondage of Her own illusion, sometimes

She shares the pain of human existence.

In the minds of Her devotees She appears in the forms of their choice.

In the lake of Kamalākānta's heart She appears within the lotus there afloat.³³

Kālī, the cosmic deity, is not confined to a single sex. As the warrior Goddess She controls the demons (Danu's sons), and as the playful Kṛṣṇa the same Divinity bestows grace on the milkmaids. As the Creatrix She weaves the creation out of Her essential strands (*guṇa*).

This neo-Śākta movement of 18th century Bengal, characterized by doctrinal synthesis and harmony, in which the Tantric emphasis on esoteric ritual and meditation was blended with emotional *bhakti* and a monotheistic religion of grace, culminated in the person of a great 19th century figure, Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahansa (1836–86). A traditional Śākta Tantric adept and a priest of a rich Kālī temple near Calcutta, he preached and practised this neo-Śāktism.

³² SHIBAPRASAD BHATTACHARYA, op. cit., p. 372.

³³ AMARENDRANĀTH RĀY, Śākta Padāvali, p. 101.

He was not an educated person; all his teachings were oral and were recorded by his disciples. The five volumes of his discourses collected by Mahendra Nath Gupta³⁴ ("Ma") are a valuable document of Rāmakṛṣṇa's brand of eirenic Śāktism.

A large body of Bengali Tantric literature is by Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās, Bāuls and Nātha *siddha yogins*³⁵. All three groups followed comparable systems of esoteric rites and meditation. Besides works of a purely literary character, like devotional and *sādhana* songs, the first group has produced a vast number of treatises on their doctrines and sexual yogic practices. Broadly speaking, what they have to say on these topics is much the same as what is in early Hindu and Buddhist Tantras.³⁶ Though the three cults have a basic resemblance, only the Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā sect worships the Divinity in female form. But their adored Goddess is Rādhā, the eternal beloved of Kṛṣṇa. These Bengali Tantras, composed between the 17th and 19th centuries, take the form of dialogues between Śiva and Pārvatī. M.M. Bose has edited two of them, the Āgama-grantha and the Ānanda-bhairava. He also has published a bibliography of seventy-nine Bengali Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyā Tantras.³⁷ However, the spirit of these texts differs considerably from that of the Sanskrit Tantras. Influenced by Caitanya and his followers, they depict a form of religious aesthetics alien to the Sanskrit Śākta Tantras. But their doctrine influenced some Śākta practice, and the above-mentioned poet Kamalākānta compares the rising of *kunḍalini* to the highest centre with Rādhā's clandestine visit to Kṛṣṇa.³⁸

³⁴ ŚRĪ "MA", Rāmakṛṣṇa-kathāmṛta, A translation.

³⁵ See GONDA, *Religionen Indiens*, II, p. 154; 161; 224; 330; 171f.; 179; 219ff.

³⁶ DASGUPTA, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 116ff.

³⁷ MANINDRA MOHAN BOSE, *Post Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult of Bengal*, *passim*.

³⁸ DASGUPTA, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 129.

CHAPTER III

TANTRIC LITERATURE IN HINDI AND RELATED LANGUAGES

Before considering Śākta literature in Hindi, I must note that I shall treat Maithilī, Rājasthānī, Brajbhāṣā and Panjābī literature separately. My main reasons are both cultural and literary. Both Maithilī and Rājasthānī Śākta literature enjoyed patronage of royal courts belonging to Śākta kings and princes. Both are highly cultivated literary languages and have produced considerable bodies of literature. Śākta literature in Brajbhāṣā presents just the opposite situation. As to Panjābī literature, I have indeed very little material on Śākta themes Panjab and Haryana possess several important Devī shrines which are still very popular. Devī occupies an important position in the religious practices of the Hindus and the Sikhs of the region. So presumably there exists a body of Śākta literature here both on the folk level and on the high literary level. I have only handled the latter.

By comparison with its profusion on the themes of Kṛṣṇa, Rāma or God unqualified (*nirguṇa*), Hindi literature offers little on Tantric Śāktism. Tantrism in its broader sense, which embraces both the Nātha cult and the Siddha cult, was (and to some extent still is) widespread in the parts of India where Hindi and languages close to Hindi are used. The difference between the Nāthas (popularly known in North India as the *avadhūta*) and the Siddhas is often tenuous; but the former lay more stress on purely meditative practices while the latter are inclined to Kaula religious practices using sex, alcohol and non-vegetarian food. Poets belonging to these two groups have produced considerable literature depicting their religious ideals and experiences. But these are not Śākta in spirit.

On the other hand, ballads and hymns on the Goddess in different local dialects of Hindi exist in considerable number. One such popular form of hymn on the Goddess (Śakti) is the group of forty verses (*cālīsā*). These praise the Goddess in Her various manifestations, extolling the majesty of Her various aspects. There are *cālīsās* on Durgā, Kālikā and Vindhyeśvarī. The last named is the presiding deity of a village called Vindhyācal, which is situated at the foot of the Vindhya range, not very far from Varanasi (Benares). Vindhyeśvarī is worshipped in the temple at the foot of the hill; on its top is the temple of

¹ E.g. Dr. HAJARĪPRASĀD DVIVEDĪ: Hindi sāhitya uskā udbhav aur vikās, pp. 27-69.

Durgā, and in a nearby wood stands a temple of Kālī. The cult of Vindhyeśvarī is influential in the neighbouring region and has a long tradition behind it. It is a very sacred place (*piṭha*) for Tantrics and devotees of the Goddess. However, popular though she is locally, She has left no mark on literary Hindi. The simple hymns composed by Her devotees are in local dialect and bear no sign of poetic or mystic power. Nevertheless, pious Śāktas feel it their duty daily to recite one of the *cālisās* in praise of Durgā or Kālīkā or Vindhyeśvarī.

I salute Thee, Durgā, bestower of all happiness!
 I salute Thee, Mother, remover of all misery!
 Thy flawless glory covers the three worlds.
 Thy forehead is like the moon, Thine eyes are wide and red², Thy frown fearsome.
 To see Mother's beauty is blissful, those who witness it feel great pleasure.
 Thou hast made the world, which is Thy power, and givest food
 and wealth for sustenance.
 As Annapūrnā Thou art the world's sustainer; Thou indeed art Sundarī and Bālā;
 Thou art the destroyer of all in the final cataclysm; Thou art
 Gaurī, Śiva's beloved.

The yogin Śiva sings Thy praise, Brahmā and Śiva ever meditate on Thee . . .³

This Durgā-cālisā goes on to complete the required number of verses without adding anything of great ideological value. But it none the less shows the dedication of the devotee to his Goddess, who stands above all other deities. In these simple eulogistic poems, Durgā or Kālī or Vindhyeśvarī is in fact the Mother, Ambikā, the source of all.

In the morning, drums are beaten at the Mother's door;
 Gods, men, sages and others stand with their palms together in veneration.
 The four Vedas cannot tell all Her glory,
 Even great pundits like Śeṣa⁴ are inadequate in telling Her glory.
 On the head of the Lord of the Universe⁵ be pleased to place Thy protective hand;
 His sole duty is to sing Thy praise.
 Desire, anger, conceit, delusion, greed—these great warriors,
 Buckling on the weapon of courage, I shall fight.

Another such folksong equates Vindhyeśvarī with Mahāmāyā or Viṣṇumāyā, who took birth as the real daughter of Nanda and Yaśodā, Kṛṣṇa's foster-parents, and who was murdered by Kāṁsa's men when Vasudeva, Kṛṣṇa's real father, swapped her for Kṛṣṇa and laid her by the side of his wife Devakī.

Hail Mother Vindhyācal, O hail Mother Vindhyācal!
 Mother, Thine abode is on the range of Vindhya under which flows Gaṅgā.
 Taking birth in the house of Nanda the cowherd, Thou didst appear in Mathurā.
 When the king Kāṁsa hurled Thee, Thou flewest up through the
 sky and Thy voice was heard.

...

² Wide and red eyes are considered in India to be majestically beautiful.

³ DAS GUPTA, *Bhārater Śaktisādhanaṁ o Śākta Sāhitya*, p. 383.

⁴ Śeṣa is the cosmic serpent on which Viṣṇu lies. In the Vaiṣṇava tradition he is Saṁkarṣaṇa, the propagator of the Vedas and hence of wisdom.

⁵ Jagannātha is Viṣṇu.

With folded hands I propitiate Thee; be pleased to listen to me;
 I am Thy little son, who meditating on Thy feet sings Thy glory.
 Thou art my mother, bearer of the crescent moon.

These few examples show that on the folk level Hindi hymns to the Goddess convey the same fervour and dedication as do those in Bengali and Maithili. These hymns have not been anthologized, as have the Bengali devotional hymns to the Goddess (Śākta padāvalī).

In literary Hindi Tulsī Dās (1532–1623) occupies a special position as the foremost poet of devotion to a qualified God (*saguṇa bhakti*). Although he was a great devotee of Rāma, an *avatāra* of Viṣṇu, one can discern a strong Śākta undercurrent in his epic, the *Rāmcaritmānas*.⁶ The narrator of this Rāma epic is Śiva, and Umā is the sole audience. Tulsī Dās grafts several Śaiva myths onto the Rāmāyaṇa story, for instance the story of the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.

A ballad called *Pārvatīmaṅgala*⁷ (The marriage of Pārvatī) is also ascribed to Tulsī Dās. This work gives much the same account of Pārvatī's marriage as is found in the Bengali *Caṇḍīmaṅgalas*. Nārada comes to the house of Himālaya and Menakā and at their request examines Pārvatī's palm to predict her future. He tells them that she will marry a madman. Pārvatī consoles her parents, and leaves her home to embark on a great penance. She gets Śiva as her husband, but at the wedding her mother is shocked at the sight of the bridegroom. The target of Menakā's wrath is Nārada, whom she accuses of bamboozling them into accepting Śiva as Pārvatī's husband. However, the marriage ceremony is completed. At the time of the couple's departure, the usual pathos haunts the poetry.

There are a few stray poems by Tulsī Dās on Śākta themes. In all humility and faith he dedicates himself to the Goddess, asking Her to save him from the misery of the bottomless desire that besets all creatures. The Goddess of death and annihilation is the final absorber of all and is above all cosmic gods. She indeed is the last resort of all beings. The poet in one poem describes the Goddess's exquisite beauty, even though it defies description. Perfect in every part and dazzling as if She contained the lightning, the Goddess, decked in celestial dress and ornament, with Her beautiful dancing gazelle eyes and moon-like face puts to shame millions of Ratis. (Rati, pleasure personified, is the wife of the god of love.) In another poem he addresses Kālīkā, who dispels fear from the world and is served by gods, men, sages and demons, and asks Her to bestow devotion and liberation. The poet propitiates the Goddess, beseeching Her to grant him total devotion to Rāma.⁸

⁶ DAS GUPTA, *Bhārater Śaktisādhana o Śākta Sāhitya*, pp. 386–8.

⁷ Ed. RĀMCANDRA ŚUKL, *Bhagavāndin and Brajratndās, Tulsī-granthāvalī*, II, p. 25.

⁸ DAS GUPTA, *op. cit.* pp. 388–93; *Tulsī-granthāvalī*, p. 387.

Guru Govind Singh, the tenth religious leader of the Sikhs (1666–1708) composed in Hindi a poem called *Durgācaritrauktivilās* on the model of the *Durgā-saptaśatī*, the last part of the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*. In 1702 Dalapati Miśra wrote a small poem in Hindi called the *Kālikāṣṭaka*, notable for its adroit handling of metre and the devotional ardour it expresses. In 1718 Śrīkrṣṇa Bhaṭṭa composed the *Durgābhaktitarāṅgiṇī*, which is again a free rendering in Hindi of the *Durgā-saptaśatī*. In 1786 Rāmacandra of Balia (Uttar Pradesh) wrote a beautiful poem about the feet of Pārvatī, the cosmic Mother. Its title is *Caranacandrikā* and it is the only poem on Devī written in literary Brajbhāṣā that has come to my notice⁹.

There was a tradition of making Hindi metrical translations of the *Durgā-saptaśatī* in order to illustrate Hindi prosody. The basic Sanskrit text on prosody is ascribed to Piṅgala, and this type of work is accordingly called Piṅgala poetry. In 1735 Ananya Kavi composed such a work, and in 1791 Hari ānanda Dibai another, the *Devīvilāsa*.¹⁰

Even in the time of Tulsī Dās, there existed a vast body of magic formulae considered to be Tantric.¹¹ Collectively these are called the *Sāṃvari Tantra*. The formulae are often accompanied by magic diagrams. They are mainly used, even nowadays,¹² to cure various diseases and misfortunes such as possession by an evil spirit, or to find lost property or to trace a lost person.

Maithilī literature is closely related to Bengali both linguistically and culturally; this is especially true when it comes to Tantra. During the fifteenth century the worship of Kālī obtained a new vigour in Bengal through the direct influence of Mithila or Tirhut. The Śakti-saṅgama Tantra (sixteenth century)¹³ makes it clear that Mithila was a great centre of Śakti worship. So it is natural that a considerable literature on this theme has been composed in Maithilī, the regional language.

As early as the fourteenth century, Vidyāpati composed a few poems on Devī, the Goddess. At the request of his royal patron he wrote a handbook for the ritual worship of Durgā, the *Durgā-bhakti-tarāṅgiṇī*. He also composed popular songs about Pārvatī, mainly on her marriage with Śiva and the couple's honeymoon and later conjugal life. Several collections have been made of these songs. The story of Umā's marriage follows the purāṇic tradition recorded above, with only small local variations. Thus, in one song Umā's mother Menakā confronts Śiva, who has come to win her daughter dressed as a mendicant. Vexed, she exclaims:

⁹ It was published in 1802 by the Bharat Press, Varanasi.

¹⁰ Dr. DINDAYAL GUPTA, *Hindi sāhitya kā Bṛhat Itihās*, part V.

¹¹ *kālī viloki jagahita hara giriṇā / sāvaramantrajāla jinhā sirajā*. *Rāmacaritmānas*, Bālakāṇḍa.

¹² This work is available in popular publication at Dehātī Pustak Bhāṇḍār Delhi. This edition is supervised by Santrām 'Sant': the title is *Sāṃvari Tantra* (Serḍe ka Jādu).

¹³ See p. 68f.

“How has this monk entered here? Gaurī (the fair one, i.e. Umā) is engaged in penance. My daughter the princess will be scared at the snakes (which adorn Śiva’s body). I shall dishevel his matted locks and rip open his bag of alms. If the monk should refuse to leave even when repulsed, I shall insult him. Hara (the destroyer) has three eyes; (in the third) there burns a terrible fire—let my delicate Umā not behold it.” Says Vidyāpati: “Listen, mother of the world, that man is not just a madman; He is the Giver of the three worlds.”

One of Vidyāpati’s many contributions to the literature of the vernacular languages of Eastern India is the *nācārī* form of lyric poetry. In recounting the source of this type of poetry Ramanath Jha says that in the play Vikramorvaśīyam Kālidāsa used the lyric form called *carcarī*, a kind of melody sung to accompany a dance. In the twelfth century Jayadeva further developed this style in his Gītagovindam, in which each lyric is set to a melody and is presumably to be sung as accompaniment to the dance drama. Though ostensibly describing the milkmaids’ love for Kṛṣṇa, these songs are primarily devotional. As we have already seen, the Buddhist Tantric poets adopted this type of lyric poetry set to popular tunes to depict the poet’s emotional experiences of his deity. The poet would sign such a poem by including his name in the refrain. Vidyāpati’s *nācārīs* are of this character. They are devotional songs recounting myths of Śiva or the Goddess. Many are more descriptive than devotional and therefore have always been used at such social events as weddings or festivals on the birth of a son. But some more emotional ones are used by devotees for pouring out their own emotions before the deity. Ramanath Jha reports that in some cases the devotee singing these songs begins to dance and even reaches ecstasy.¹⁴ Here is a typical such hymn to the Goddess:

Glory, glory be to you, Bhairavī, who frighten the demons, the
beloved of Śiva, Māyā!
 O Goddess,¹⁵ give us the boon of natural honesty and grant that we
may ever follow your feet.
 Your feet decorate the corpse of Śiva, whose crest-jewel is the moon.
 You have killed the demons and some are devoured and some disgorged.
 Your black eyes, reddened, resemble a cloud decorated with red *koka* flowers.
 Your gruesome lips are foaming with blood.
 In your wild dance of destruction your anklets jangle madly while
your sword destroys life.
 The poet Vidyāpati is your servant. O Mother, do not forget your son.¹⁶

In about 1643 Haridās wrote *nācārī* songs about Devī of which only one is now available:

Go and look, O mother, Gaurī is roaming about with this ascetic and playing. His horn pours out sweet music. The ascetic does not want any alms but begs for Bhavānī. Wherever Gaurī goes playing with her friends, the ascetic appears dancing and beating his drum. The wily ascetic comes every day and asks for

¹⁴ RAMANATH JHA, Vidyāpati, p. 39–46.

¹⁵ “Gosauni”—literally: “revered lady”.

¹⁶ DEŚRAJSIMHA BHĀTĪ, Vidyāpati kī kāvya-sādhana, p. 172.

Gaurī. Says Haridās, he is the great God. The supreme Lord, the beloved of Gaṅgā is Gaurī's destined husband.¹⁷

The kings of Mithila were worshippers of Devī and several of them were good poets. Maheś Thākūr (1536–69) composed many hymns on Gaṅgā and Tārā. Mahināth Thākūr composed in 1601 a song on Kālī and its similarity to Bengali Śākta songs is striking.

Her face is formidable; She wears corpses as earrings and Her teeth are fearsome;
Her hair is dishevelled; Her complexion is dark as a cloud;
In two hands She carries a severed head and a sharp sword; the other two make
the signs protecting from fear and bestowing boons; the Mother is naked;
Her firm high breasts are adorned with a garland of severed heads still shedding
blood;

Her waist is girdled with severed hands from corpses; from the corner of her lips
blood oozes down;

Seated on a corpse in the cremation ground She meditates surrounded by Yoginīs.
O Mistress of the universe, King Mahināth prays to You. Hail.¹⁸

Locana, author of the Rāgatarāṅgiṇī, composed several hymns to Śakti (c. 1681). They too describe Kālī as the terrible Goddess, grotesque, mysterious and yet of aetherial beauty.

Not all composers of such hymns were Tantrics. It was the overall atmosphere of the country that inspired devotional songs on the Goddess, whether as Kālī or as Umā/Durgā. Most people, including the king, were Śaivas or Śāktas. Thus a vast number of popular devotional songs, often anonymous, were collected in family song-books.¹⁹ The poet's signature (*bhaṇita*) at the end of a song is not always proof of authorship. One song with Vidyāpati's *bhaṇita* contains distinctive Tantric ritual concepts. It addresses the Goddess as Chinnamastā (She of Severed Heads):

Victory to the light of the world, giver of a good ending to the universe, to Her
Whose forehead is lovely with charming locks. O high-breasted maiden, to those
in Your service even the impossible becomes possible. In the heart of the lotus
diagram with the sun's orb in its centre are three triangles. Above them Rati,
a veritable river of gracefulness, is lying on top of her husband Madana. On her
are placed Your feet, and their anklets (?—*padalasa*) appear as if the moon were
lining the sun.

The mystical value of the number three in Tantric theology is underlined in the following song:

I shall worship Gaurī with three ingredients: vermilion,
flowers and the leaf of the *bel* tree.
I shall offer her three foods: banana, coconut and pomegranate.
I shall worship Her with three kinds of incense²⁰: *agaru*,
guggula and camphor lamp.
I shall ask Her to grant me three favours: upright character,
steadfast performance of my religious duties and good luck.

¹⁷ A. JAYAKANTA MISHRA, *Maithili Literature*, I, p. 226.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, op. cit.

¹⁹ RAMANATH JHA, op. cit., p. 43.

²⁰ This refers to the rite of *ārati*, waving a lamp and incense in front of the image.

Some of the songs, again like their Bengali parallels, stress self-surrender:

O saviour of the world, when will You remove my pain?
 Saviour of life, when will You remove my pain?
 My boat is capsized on the ocean of life.
 Do not delay a moment or I shall be drowned.
 O Mother, only when You come and take up the oar,
 Mother, then and then only shall I dare to hope for safety.
 O Mother, I have thrown myself completely upon Your care;
 Mother, how can You keep Your eyes shut and stay reclining?

Many of these songs were composed in the area which lies within the modern boundaries of Nepal. The downfall of Hindu royal dominance shifted the centre of gravity of Maithili literary activity to Nepal, where the courts had come to patronize Maithila culture. Thus after 1527 hardly any literature was produced in Mithila proper for about fifty years, till Locana, author of the *Rāgatarāṅgiṇī*, flourished at the court of King Mahīnāth Thākur in the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

Among the poets of Nepal, King Bhūpatīndra (1695–1722) is important for his Śākta devotional songs:

O Goddess Bhavānī, grant me protection.
 Whatever I do with my mind, speech or body
 Is all dedicated to your feet.
 I am a poor and humble person
 ...
 I long to make my mind a bee
 Devoted to your lotus feet in each of my births.
 King Bhūpatīndra sings this song of devotional sentiment.
 Glory be to the speech of the Husband of Pārvatī.²¹

Noteworthy is the Vaiṣṇava influence expressed in the concept of *bhakti rasa*, here translated “devotional sentiment”. The same image of a bee at the lotus feet of the Goddess occurs in the Kālī songs of late eighteenth-century Bengal; the metaphor of nectar in turn suggests *bhakti rasa*.

The intense Śaiva/Śākta affiliation of some Maithila poets was also expressed in another literary area: drama. Lala Kavi²² (1744–61) wrote a play entitled *Gaurī-svayaṃvara*. It is in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Maithili, though the former two languages are used extremely sparsely, just to give the play a Sanskrit framework and to accommodate stage directions and means of advancing the action. Otherwise the play is written entirely in Maithili lyrics set to various melodies, similar to the ballad songs (*kīrtana*) of Bengal and Assam. It is interesting to note, however, that in Bengal and Assam there is no parallel use of the *kīrtana* to create a Śaiva/Śākta devotional opera. The form of this play is that of minor Sanskrit plays of operatic type known as *nāṭya-rāsaka*, a form also found in the Rājasthānī ballad poems called *rāso* (see fn. 23). The devo-

²¹ JAYAKANTA MISRA, *Maithili Literature*, I, p. 246.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 318.

tional mood of the Gaurī-svayaṃvara is set in the opening prayer to Gaurī, the Fair Goddess. The theme is Her marriage to Śiva, following the same purāṇic story as Kālidāsa's Kumāra-sambhava, starting from the burning of Madana, the god of love, by Śiva. The play ends happily with the wedding.

Śivadatta (fl. c. 1800) wrote a play entitled Gaurī-pariṇaya on the same theme. Unlike the earlier play, this starts with Gaurī's falling in love with Śiva. The episode of the burning of Madana only comes after Śiva has agreed to marry Her: after the betrothal Śiva unaccountably becomes lost in meditation and when Madana tries to upset his concentration Śiva burns him in an outburst of peevishness. However, through the good offices of Nārada the marriage is finally accomplished.

The literature of Rajasthan, "the land of princes", does not go much further back than the sixteenth century. The early literature was mainly bardic and religious. The geographical area of Rajasthan was from the early mediaeval period divided into several principedoms. The rulers were mainly Śaiva/Śākta, though some of them were influenced by Vaiṣṇavism and the monistic devotionalism of Dādū, Kabīr and the Nātha yogins.

Although most of this literature consists of heroic bardic compositions, a considerable corpus of devotional literature has also come down to us. One of the earliest Rājasthānī works of this type is Śrīdhara's Saptasatī rā chanda, composed around the fifteenth century. The poem describes the battles of the Goddess against the Buffalo Demon and other fiends. As is evident from the title, the theme comes from the Sanskrit Saptasatī. This ballad is in effect a prayer in 121 verses.

Īśvaradāsa Vārahatta of Jaipur was one of the most respected bardic poets of Rajasthan and was famous for his devotion. He was respected and patronized by many kings of mediaeval Rajasthan²³; his holiness earned him so much respect that people called him the great God²⁴. He wrote several long religious poems, among them one on the Goddess as the personification of cosmic energy (*śakti*) called the Deviyāna. Though by temperament he was a devotee, it seems that he conceived the highest deity not as a personal god but as Brahman, the Unqualified (*nirguṇa*). It is said that his guru, Pītāmbara Bhaṭṭa, initiated him into the yogic tradition of the *siddhas* and that he successfully completed the course of Tantric practice called the *ajapā sādhanā*, a very high level yogic practice²⁵. He had the experience of union with the Ultimate Reality and thus became a *siddha*. As a devotee he believed in the efficacy of using divine names as mystic formulae (*nāma-mantra*). He composed panegyrics on various deities.

²³ HIRĀLĀL MAHEŚVARĪ, Rājasthānī Sāhitya, p. 70-126. *Rāso* is a major type of bardic poetry, *ibid* pp. 232-37.

²⁴ HIRĀLĀL MAHEŚVARĪ, *op. cit.*, p. 189: "isara so parmesara".

²⁵ GUPTA et al., p. 180.

The Deviyāna²⁶ is a panegyric on the Goddess consisting of 85 verses in Adal metre with three verses at the end in Chappaya metre. The Goddess is addressed by all possible names in all her aspects. The poem starts with a profusion of the letter “ka” (*Kartā hartā śṛiṃ hrīṃkāri, Kālī kālarayana kaumāri*), which is the first letter of Kālī’s seed-mantra, *krīṃ*. The poet uses this form of alliteration quite often, thereby hinting at the Goddess’s mystic form as the *varṇa-mātrkā* (the primal alphabet), the wellspring of all *mantras*. The exact Sanskrit parallel is the afore-mentioned Kakārādi-Kālisahasranāma-stava.²⁷ From time to time the poet begs the Goddess to protect him from sickness and other calamities and to grant him liberation:

O Goddess, You who remove all fear of sickness, protect me.
O Goddess, please do liberate me. O Goddess, liberate me.

Another ancient type of Rājasthānī poetry is the Veli. This form was widely used by both Jaina and non-Jaina Rājasthānī devotional poets. Poems in this genre have been written ever since the fifteenth century.

Mahādev Pārvaṭī rī veli or Hara Pārvaṭī rī veli was probably composed in the latter half of the seventeenth century. It has 381 verses. Its theme is the marriage of the cosmic couple Śiva and Pārvaṭī. In the last verse the poet gives his name: Kisanau. The poem contains the usual story of Śiva’s married life with Satī, his first wife, and her final disastrous encounter with her father Dakṣa, which leads to her death. There follows a rousing account of the destruction of Dakṣa by Śiva. The poem ends with a delightful description of Śiva’s courting and marrying Pārvaṭī.

In the manuscript library of Bikaner there is a manuscript dated A. D. 1585 of a short work called Tripurā rī veli composed by a certain Jasavant about twenty years before the Mahādev Pārvaṭī rī veli. The work consists of nine short poems of *dohā* type and two of *kuṇḍalī* type containing thirty lines each. It is a eulogy of the Goddess, Who is cosmic Energy, as Tripurāsundarī, a form in which She rides a lion:

O Mother, the flame of sacrificial butter is reaching You; please listen to one supplication . . . You are the bestower of perfection, of discriminating knowledge; You always grant the enjoyment one longs for. By the favour of Tripurā one obtains prosperity and increase of one’s treasury. She is the giver of elephants, vehicles, horses, and all desired property.²⁸

The Śākta Tantric literature in Brajbhāṣā, the language of the Mathura region, is quite different in character from that in Rājasthānī: that was polished ‘high’ literature, while this is folk literature. Worship of the Goddess has been important round Mathura since antiquity, but, as in the Vindhyaṭal region,

²⁶ Ed. SANKARDĀN JETHIBHĀI KAVI, Limbli, samvat 1948.

²⁷ See p. 189.

²⁸ HIRĀLĀL MAHEŚVARĪ, op. cit., p. 177, 193.

hymns and ballads to Her were popular literature, never elaborated into complex forms. In this region the popular form of the Goddess is Gaurī, the fair young wife of Śiva who is completely identified with Durgā. As Gaurī She is worshipped by young women for obtaining a good husband and fulfilment in married life. She combines in herself the three aspects of Devī as the daughter, as the wife and as the mother²⁹. She is envisaged as a very young girl, *kumārī*, yet she is identified with Bhagavati and Bhavānī, the supreme Goddess initiating and controlling creation, the cosmic Mother. The annual spring festival of Gaurī, Nauratā, has long tradition behind it and is mainly observed by women. Important features of it are feeding and giving gifts to very young girls³⁰ and songs sung in praise of the Goddess:

Today I see Bhavānī as a little girl. My Mother! goodness is before You and behind You; I have seen the sacred fig-tree, the gateway to righteousness; a barren woman begs at my Mother's door for a fertile body; a blind man implores for recovery of his sight; a poor man asks for food. O my Mother! I constantly meditate on You and sing Your praise . . .

Visiting temples and pilgrim centres is important for Her devotees and the area has many ancient Devī-shrines. There are many songs describing such pilgrimages, popularly known as *yātrā*. The devotee is impatient to start his pilgrimage in his eagerness to meet the Goddess. In a fine poem this is expressed in terms of a son's impatient longing for his tender mother; the devotee accuses her of not showing enough eagerness to receive him:

My Mother! why do You not force me to go to You by pulling me with a rope? I have climbed a hill and sighted my tender Mother; my mind is already with You; but my father delays to give me money for the journey, my brother delays to bring the horse; mother delays in preparing food; and aunt delays to give sweetmeats for the trip; my sister wastes my time in singing auspicious songs for me; aunty takes her time to put auspicious marks on my forehead; my wife procrastinates in making my way free; thus I am held back.

The Goddess is indeed supreme over all other divinities and is worshipped by all gods:

Your immense divine form has brought confidence to the minds of those who propitiate You; Nārada is engaged in meditating on You; Brahmā recites to You the Vedas; Indra worships and praises You. To You the weapons are but toys for the mind and the lion is harmless as a cow. O You who possess twenty arms and the crescent moon, I fail to describe Your beauty!

Jagdev kā pamvādā is a ballad about a devotee of the Goddess Bhavānī called Jagdev. It consists of ten short narrative poems each describing a heroic adventure undertaken by Jagdev in the cause of Bhavānī. The ballad is written in the first person; whether such a person really existed is still unclear. The

²⁹ PUSHPENDRA KUMAR SHARMA, Śakti Cult in Ancient India, p. 73.

³⁰ DAS GUPTA, Bhārater Śaktisādhana o Śākta Sāhitya, p. 409-18; Dr. SATYENDRA, Braj-lok-sāhitya kā Adhyayan, p. 249-61.

Goddess is variously addressed as Bhavānī of Himlāj, Kaṅkāli of Jalpā, the Mother of the universe and Durgā of Nagarkoṭ, and the poems express deep religious feelings.³¹

As has been pointed out, literary Hindi has virtually neglected the Goddess until very recent times, when her image as a slayer of demons has become the subject of allegory.³² The story of the birth of Durgā, the concentrated form of the divine power of the gods born to subjugate evil, embodied in the Buffalo Demon, has been used since the early modern period as an allegory to justify warfare and to stimulate the fight against immoral non-believer oppressors.

This allegorical treatment was anticipated in Panjābī literature. Sikhs venerate Bhavānī or Bhagavatī, the demon-destroying goddess Durgā. Guru Govind Singh,³³ the activist leader of the Sikhs who turned the religious community into a warlike sect of iron discipline and patriotic fervour, was a devotee of Durgā. He wrote a panegyric of Caṇḍī, the Caṇḍī di Var or Var Śribhagautījī ki. This text is considered one of the major mystical texts of the Sikh scripture.³⁴ Although the basic story is taken from the Saptāśatī, the author introduced new themes. In this version the Buffalo demon Mahakhasur (Maḥiṣāsura) was in the first place sent to humble the gods, who in their conceit and lust for power had forgotten their duties (*dharma*). The demon defeated the gods and usurped their power but forgot that he was but a vessel of God's will and purpose. He plunged into self-deception, became arrogant and tyrannical. Thus he forfeited God's protection. The gods in despair and humility became penitent and propitiated Śakti, the Divine Power, manifest in Durgā, the goddess at once terrifying to the evil and benevolent to the righteous and meek. It is obvious that in this allegorical narrative lay a message relevant to Guru Govind's time. By their own fault the rulers of India were defeated by aggressive Muslim invaders, who are non-believers. But the Muslims did not follow the laws of justice and turned into great tyrants. The time was then ripe for the subjugated to rise and purge themselves of their immorality. Then in God's name, under divine tutelage as God's servants, with the active aid of God's divine Power, they would destroy the tyrants.

Caṇḍī di Var is a poem of medium length. Var is the name of the literary genre of the poems of heroic tenor. The poet invokes the supreme Goddess, Bhagavatī, and recalls all Sikh leaders preceding him. Then he starts narrating the glories of the Goddess, who is the creatrix of the universe. This work has been translated by Mrs. Aviar Kaur and I give here just the opening few lines.

³¹ Ibid., loc. cit.

³² PUSPENDRA KUMAR SHARMA, op. cit., v. 112; cf. MAITHILĪŚARAN GUPTA, Caṇḍī, Sahitya Sadan, Chirgaon (Jhansi) 1948; HIMMAT SINGH, Maḥiṣāsura-badh, Indian Press LTD., Prayāg 1932.

³³ SEREBRYAKOV, Punjabi Literature, p. 33–35.

³⁴ See the editor's introduction to the translation of the poem: Panha Sanjam, vol. V, Special Number, Punjabi University, Patiala 1972.

Let us invoke Bhagauti and meditate on Guru Nanak,
 That Guru Aṅgad, Amardas and Ramdas be our support.
 Let us remember Arjan, Hargovind and Sri Har Rae.
 Let us think of Sri Har Krishan whose sight eradicates all miseries.
 Let us contemplate on Teg Bahadur who is the source of Nine Nidhis,

May they shield us ever.

First of all You created the Khanda and established this universe.

With the advent of Brahma, Bishan and Mahesh, the spectacle of Nature was stretched.

Then followed oceans, mountains, earth and the sky that stands without support.

And then You created demons and gods and infused conflict amongst them.

It is You who brought forth Durgā for the destruction of the demons.

It is from You that Rāma derived power and destroyed Rāvaṇa.

It is from You that Krishna got strength to hold Kansa by his hair and slew him.³⁵

Great Munis and gods did penance for ages, none could perceive Your mystery!

The Goddess is the primordial Divine Power and every single display of justifiable heroism is a manifestation of that Power.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 2-3.

ABBREVIATIONS

I. Original Sources

AgPur	Agni-Purāṇa
ATV	Āgama-tattva-vilāsa
BY	Brahma-Yāmala
ChUp	Chāndogya-Upaniṣad
GST	Guhya-samāja-Tantra
ISP	Īśānaśiva-gurudeva-Paddhati
JT	Jñānārṇava-Tantra
JY	Jayadratha-Yāmala
KAN	Kaulāvali-nirṇaya
KJN	Kaula-jñāna-nirṇaya
KKG	Kriyā-kāla-guṇottara-Tantra
KKV	Kāma-kālā-vilāsa
KMT	Kubjikā-mata-Tantra
KT	Kulārṇava-Tantra
KulCT	Kula-cūḍāmaṇi-Tantra
LSN	Lalitā-sahasra-nāma
LT	Lakṣmī-Tantra
Mbh	Mahābhārata
MBT	Manthāna-bhairava-Tantra
MKS	Mahā-kāla-Saṃhitā
MM	Mahārtha-mañjari
MNT	Mahā-nirvāṇa-Tantra
MVT	Mālinī-vijaya-Tantra
NSA	Nityā-ṣoḍaśikārṇava
NT	Netra-Tantra
NTS	Niḥśvāsa-tattva-Saṃhitā
PhetkT	Phetkārīṇi-Tantra
PKS	Paraśurāma-Kalpa-sūtra
PM	Piṅgalā-mata
PS	Prapañca-sāra
Rgvidh	Rg-vidhāna
RV	Rg-veda
RY	Rudra-Yāmala
RY-UT	Uttara-Tantra from the Rudra-Yāmala
ŚatBr	Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa
SL	Saundarya-lahari
ŚST	Śakti-saṃgama-Tantra
ŚT	Śāradā-tilaka
SvT	Svacchanda-Tantra
TĀ	Tantrāloka
TĀr	Taittirīya-Āraṇyaka
TR	Tripurā-Rahasya

TSS	Tantra-sāra-saṃgraha
TT	Tantra-rāja-Tantra
VBT	Vijñāna-bhairava-Tantra
VDT	Vidyārṇava-Tantra
VŚT	Vināśikha-Tantra
VVR	Varivasyā-Rahasya
VY	Viṣṇu-Yāmala
YH	Yogini-Hṛdaya
YT	Yogini-Tantra

II. Tantric Catalogues

Adyar Cat.	A Catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Adyar Library, Part II, by the Pandits of the Library, Adyar (Madras) 1928
Assam Cat.	A Catalogue of Skt. Mss. at the Dept. of Historical and Antiquarian Studies in Assam, compiled and ed. by P.C. Choudhury, Gauhati 1961
Baroda Cat.	An Alphabetical List of Manuscripts in the Oriental Institute at Baroda, Vol. I, compiled by Raghavan Nambiyar, Baroda 1942
Bikaner Cat.	A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of His Highness the Mahārājā of Bikaner, compiled by Rājendralāla Mitra, Calcutta 1880
BORI Cat.	Descriptive Catalogue of the Government Collections of Mss. deposited at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Inst., compiled by the Late Dr. Har Datta Sharma, Vol. XVI, Part II: Tantra. Poona 1976
Cat. Cat.	Catalogus Catalogorum, by Theodor Aufrecht, Parts I–III, Leipzig 1891, 1896, 1903
CSC Cat.	A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College, Prepared by Hṛishikeśa Śāstri and Śiva Chandra Gui, Vol. V: Tantra Mss. (Bound with Vol. IV), Calcutta 1903
IOL Cat.	Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the India Office, Part IV: Sanskrit Literature: A. Scientific and Technical Lit., Philosophy and Tantra, by Ernst Windisch and Julius Eggeling, London 1894
IOL-SB	Catalogue of the Library of the India Office, Vol. II, Part I, Revised Edition: Sanskrit Books, by Prana Natha and Jitendra Bimala Chaudhuri; in 4 Sections, London 1938, 1951, 1953, 1957 (Sections 3 and 4 again revised by C.J. Napier)
Jammu Cat.	Catalogue of the Skt. Mss. in the Raghunatha Temple Library of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, prepared by M.A. Stein, Bombay a.o. 1894
NCC	New Catalogus Catalogorum. An Alphabetical List of Sanskrit and Allied Works and Authors, by Dr. V. Raghavan (Vol. I–V); Dr. K. Kunjunn Raja (Vol. VI sqq.). Madras 1949–; Vol. I in Revised Ed., 1968
Nepal Cat.	A Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper MSS. belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, by Hara Prasad Śāstri, Vol. I, Calcutta 1905; Vol. II; Calcutta 1915
Orissa Cat.	M.P. Dash (compiler), A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss. of Orissa in the Collection of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, Vol. V: Tantra Manuscripts, Bhubaneswar 1965

RASB Cat.	A Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss. in the Collections of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasāda Shāstri . . . Revised and Edited by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Vol. VIII, Tantra Manuscripts, Calcutta, in 2 Parts, 1939, 1940
Trivandrum Cat.	A Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Curator's Office Library of Trivandrum (quoted according to Kaviraj, Tāntrika Sāhitya)
VSP Cat.	Descriptive Catalogue of Skt. Mss. in the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Calcutta 1935

III. Other Abbreviations

ABORI	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute, Poona
Āg	Āgama
AIOC	All-India Oriental Conference
ALB	Adyar Library Bulletin, Madras
ALS	Adyar Library Series
ASB	Asiatic Society of Bengal
ĀSS	Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, Poona
BEFEO	Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, Paris
B.S.	Bengali Samvat (Era)
CHI	Cultural Heritage of India, 4 vols., Calcutta 1953-62
CSS	Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series
GDT	Guptāvatāra Durlabha Tantramālā, Prayāg
GOS	Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda
HCIP	History and Culture of the Indian People, Bombay 1951-69
HIL	History of Indian Literature, Wiesbaden
HSG	Haridās Sanskrit Granthamālā, Varanasi
IHQ	Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta
IJJ	Indo-Iranian Journal, Leiden
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society, Chicago
kh.	khaṇḍa
KSS	Kāśī Sanskrit Series, Varanasi
KSTS	Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies, Srinagar
LAS	Luptāgama-saṃgraha, ed. G. Kaviraj, Varanasi 1970
L.S.	Lakṣmaṇa Samvat (Era)
Ms(s).	Manuscript(s)
NCC	New Catalogus Catalogorum, Madras
N.S.	Newari Samvat (Era)
NSP	Nirnaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay
PICI	Publications de l'Institut de Civilisation Indienne, Paris
PIFI	Publications de l'Institut Français d'Indologie, Pondichéry
Pur	Purāna
PWSBT	Prince of Wales Saraswati Bhavan Texts, Varanasi
RASB	Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal
SBG	Saraswati Bhavan Granthamālā
SBH	Sacred Books of the Hindus
Skt.	Sanskrit
SU	Sanskrit University
SURIU	Skrifter Utgivna av Religionshistoriska Institutionen i Uppsala, Sweden

T	Tantra
TrSS	Trivandrum Sanskrit Series
VS	Vikrama Samvat (Era)
VSP	Vangla Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta
WZKSA	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens, Wien
Y	Yāmala
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig, Wiesbaden

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